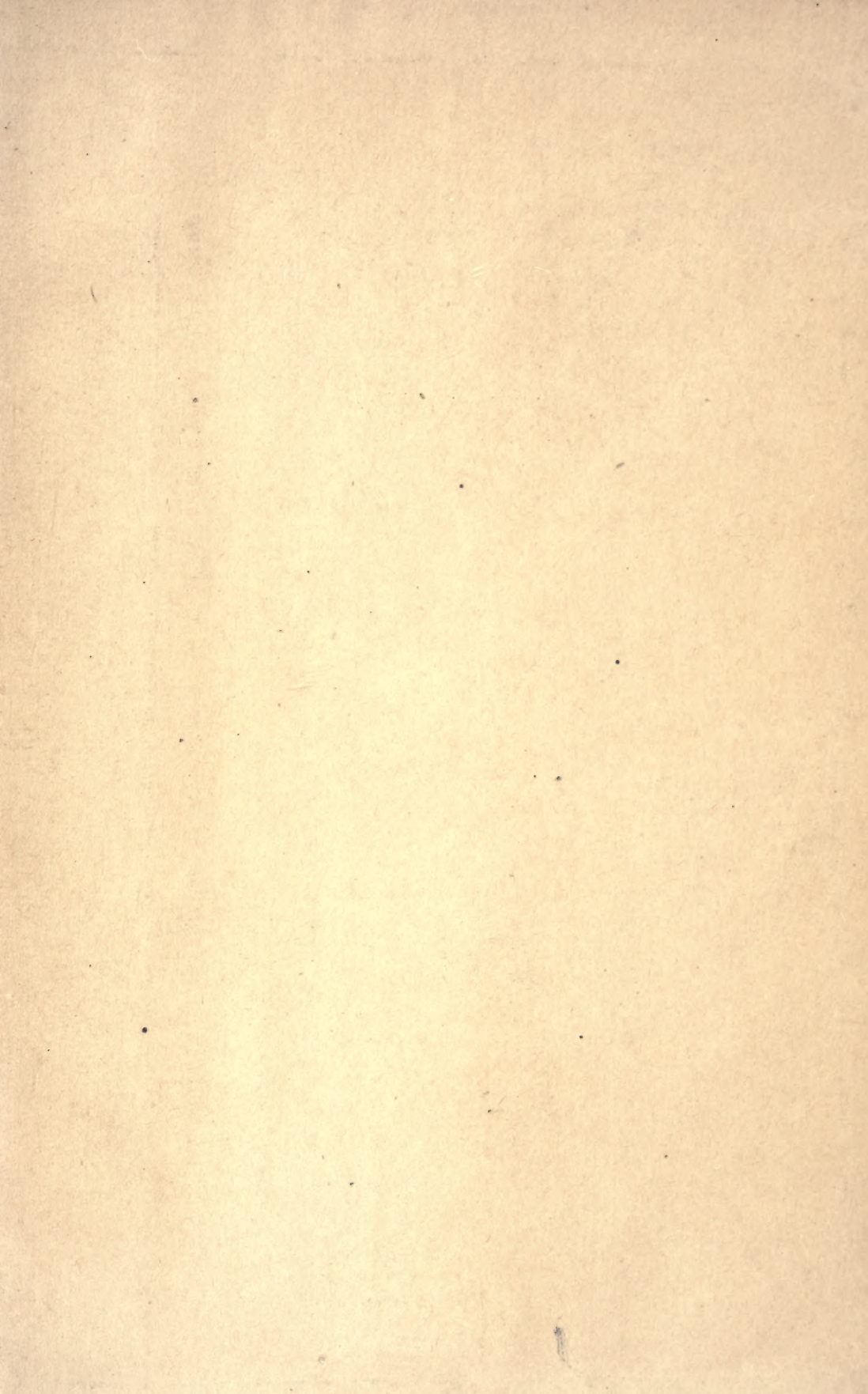


UNIVERSITY OF TORONTO



3 1761 00590847 0

UNIV. OF
TORONTO
LIBRARY



261
1

Materialien zur Kunde
des
älteren Englischen Dramas

Materialien zur Kunde des älteren Englischen Dramas

UNTER MITWIRKUNG DER HERREN

F. S. Boas-LONDON, A. Brandl-BERLIN, R. Brotanek-PRAG, F. I. Carpenter-CHICAGO, Ch. Crawford-LONDON, G. B. Churchill-AMHERST, W. Creizenach-KRAKAU, E. Eckhardt-FREIBURG I. B., A. Feuillerat-RENNES, R. Fischer-INNSBRUCK, W. W. Greg-LONDON, F. Holthausen-KIEL, J. Hoops-HEIDELBERG, W. Keller-MÜNSTER, R. B. Mc Kerrow-LONDON, G. L. Kittredge-CAMBRIDGE, MASS., E. Koeppl-STRASSBURG, J. Le Gay Brereton-SIDNEY, H. Logeman-GENT, J. M. Manly-CHICAGO, G. Sarrazin-BRESLAU, † L. Proescholdt-FRIEDRICHSDORF, A. Schröer-CÖLN, G. C. Moore Smith-SHEFFIELD, G. Gregory Smith-BELFAST, A. E. H. Swaen-GRONINGEN, A. H. Thorndike-NEW-YORK, † A. Wagner-HALLE A. S.

BEGRUENDET UND HERAUSGEGEBEN

VON

W. BANG

o. ö. Professor der Englischen Philologie an der Universität Louvain

DREISSIGSTER BAND

LOUVAIN
A. UYSTPRUYST

LEIPZIG
O. HARRASSOWITZ

LONDON
DAVID NUTT

1910

NATHANAEL RICHARDS'
TRAGEDY OF MESSALLINA
THE ROMAN EMPERESSE

EDITED

BY

A. R. SKEMP



118620
21/9/11

LOUVAIN
A. UYSTPRUYST.
LEIPZIG
O. HARRASSOWITZ

LONDON
DAVID NUTT

1910



PR
3658
R7A7
1640a

PREFACE

This edition of *Messallina* was prepared in 1907-8, as a dissertation for the doctor's degree at Strassburg. The Introduction was published separately in 1908, in fulfilment of the regulations for the degree, and was printed off for the whole edition ; but earlier and weightier claims on the space of this series have postponed the publication of the complete volume. Some additions to and corrections of the Introduction may therefore be made here.

(1) The summary of the D. N. B. account of Richards' life (p. 1) must be cancelled, in view of Professor G. C. Moore Smith's article in *Notes and Queries*, 10 S. XI. 461. Professor Moore Smith proves that our author cannot be identical with « Nathaniel Richards, Clerk, LL. B. » rector of Kentisbury. I agree entirely with his results, and would only add that Baker's confusion of the two in the *Biographia Dramatica* (1782) was probably helped by the subjects and tone of most of the poems (cf. e. g. *Prayers Paradise*, Introd. p. 17 f.), and by the phrasing of some of the commendatory verses, especially ll. 136, 173-4.

Reasoning from the coat of arms represented on the portrait prefixed to *Messallina*, Professor Moore Smith concludes that our author was a Richards of Rowling, Kent, and finds confirmation of this view in a slight family connection between Richards and Mary Hammond, the « Lady of Sir Thomas Stanly » whom he commemorated in two sets of verses (cf. Introd. p. 15). « More than this » says Professor Moore Smith in conclusion « one cannot say with certainty ; but I suggest that he was the third son of Capt. William Richards, « periti et exercitati ducis », to quote the words of the monument erected to him in Brabourne Church in accordance with the terms of the will of... Gabriel Richards, who was his second son. Gabriel is said to have been seventy-seven at the time of

his death in 1672. If Nathanael was the next brother, he would be born about 1599 or 1600, which would agree well with the evidence for the dramatist's age afforded by the poems ».

Remarks based on the identification of our author with the Kentisbury rector must also be cancelled (Introd. pp. 7, 9 (note 1), 10, 17).

(2) Professor Bang called my attention to a short play entitled « Tragœdia miserrima Pyrami | et Thisbes fata enuncians. | Historia ex Publio Ouidio depromptâ. | Authore N. R. » in a commonplace book of the beginning of the seventeenth century (British Museum, Add. 15227 f. 56 b). The book includes verses by Raleigh, Jonson, J. Earles, Freeman and others; and the author's initials N. R. are written over the half-erased initials J. P. — a sign of uncertainty which suggests that the play also is merely copied. The dates of some of the occasional verses are given, ranging from 1624 to 1631; limits which would agree very well with Richards' dates. Verses are included *In Hobsonum Architabellarium Cantabrigiensem* (1631) (on whose death Milton wrote two sets of verses); *On the Death of Mr Smith, Sid. Suss. Coll.*; *On the Death of Mr Newcome of Jes. Coll.*; so the writer was probably a Cambridge man.

The play is the English version of the Pyramus and Thisbe story to which Professor Gollancz refers in the Temple ed. *Mids. N. Dr.* p. XI. It consists of some 350 lines of most mechanical blank verse, adapted from Ovid with no more departure than is compelled by the change of form. It offers no parallels to Richards' known work; and Richards speaks contemptuously of « wanton Ovid's straine » (*The World* l. 135); but it might possibly have been written by him as an early exercise. Its utter lack of merit makes the question indifferent, except for the possibility of suggesting a connection between Richards and Cambridge.

Mr R. B. M^c Kerrow very kindly examined the MS. at a time when I could not do so, and formed much the same opinion of it as that to which later examination has led me.

(3) Throughout the Introduction I spelt *Messalina* instead of *Messallina*. I was led to do so — unwisely, as I now see — by the awkwardness of the alternation between the two forms in discussing the Latin sources. Similarly I spelt *Silana*, while

Richards wrote *Syllana* (usually) and *Sylana* (l. 198, cf. *Syla*. l. 1120). Read *Messallina* and *Syllana* throughout, except in references to and quotations from the Latin sources.

(4) The text-references in the Introduction are given by act and verse, without inclusion of stage directions, and with the preliminary matter numbered separately. When, after a long interval, the text was printed, the more convenient system of continuous line-numeration was adopted; and I did not realize the impossibility of making the corresponding change in the Introduction until after the text had been printed off. For this serious fault I have to apologize to the reader. I append a Table, translating all references in the Introduction into the numbering of the text.

(5) I take this opportunity to express my sincere thanks to Professor E. Koepfel, who suggested this piece of work, and in its execution gave me unwearingly the help of his profound knowledge of the English drama; to Professor G. C. Moore Smith, whose friendly interest led him to postpone more important work to investigate Richards' biography; and to Professor W. Bang, who has guided my inexperience through the technical details of publication with the most patient kindness.

The University,
Sheffield.

A. R. SKEMP.

August, 1910.

TABLE OF REFERENCES.

I	1	=	239	I	199	=	447	II	49	=	731
	3		241		200		448		59		742
	9		247		211		459		73		757
	18		258		215		463		76		761
	20		260		219		467		81		767
	21		261		227		475		83		769
	29		270		241		490		89		775
	30		271		252		503		94		780
	33		274		258		509		97		783
	35		276		265		521		99		785
	45		286		267		523		106		792
	49		291		278		535		112		799
	54		296		282		539		116		804
	56		298		283		540		125		814
	59		301		284		541		128		818
	68		310		286		543		131		821
	98		343		294		551		137		827
	109		354		297		554		139		829
	118		363		299		556		142		835
	123		369		322		580		152		845
	124		370		345		604		161		858
	131		377		346		605		170		867
	141		387		353		612		178		875
	149		395		356		615		179		876
	158		404		357		616		183		880
	160		406		368		627		186		883
	162		408		373		632		188		885
	163		409		394		644		197		896
	168		414		402		654		216		915
	171		417		407		659		224		923
	173		419	II	4		681		236		935
	176		422		6		683		237		936
	178		424		9		686		238		937
	181		427		14		693		240		939
	182		428		21		701		241		940
	188		436		32		713		247		946
	194		442		36		718		251		952

II	252 =	953	III	18 =	1279	IV	79 =	1730
	254	955		22	1285		80	1731
	256	957		33	1296		98	1749
	260	961		53	1316		104	1755
	269	971		79	1344		107	1758
	272	974		81	1346		108	1759
	275	977		97	1362		110	1761
	293	995		103	1369		124	1778
	295	997		120	1386		129	1783
	297	999		125	1391		135	1789
	300	1002		163	1434		140	1794
	303	1005		178	1452		146	1800
	304	1006		184	1458		148	1802
	310	1012		189	1463		149	1803
	313	1015		230	1508		153	1807
	314	1016		232	1513		159	1813
	315	1019		238	1520		165	1819
	317	1021		245	1528		172	1826
	331	1035		247	1530		176	1830
	345	1049		272	1557		189	1843
	356	1061		288	1574		203	1857
	361	1066		289	1575		209	1868
	364	1069		300	1586		214	1874
	365	1070		313	1599		215	1875
	371	1076		323	1609		220	1880
	390	1096		325	1611		223	1883
	394	1102		328	1614		230	1890
	396	1104		331	1617		234	1894
	401	1109		334	1620		237	1897
	412	1120		337	1624		247	1907
	426	1134		339	1625		249	1909
	446	1155		342	1628		250	1910
	447	1156		345	1631		251	1911
	478	1188		349	1635		252	1912
	483	1193		358	1644		253	1913
	486	1196	IV	4	1653		257	1917
	513	1223		6	1655		262	1922
	519	1229		8	1659		263	1923
	521	1231		12	1663		268	1928
	524	1234		19	1670		275	1935
	525	1235		39	1690		279	1939
	531	1241		67	1718		286	1946
	532	1242		71	1722		291	1951
	545	1254		74	1725		292	1952
III	1	1259		76	1727		293	1953

IV	298	=	1959
	311		1974
	314		1976
	317		1979
V	1		1990
	6		1995
	7		1996
	9		1998
	19		2008
	23		2012
	25		2014
	27		2016
	28		2017
	37		2026
	38		2027
	40		2029
	43		2032
	44		2033
	67		2056
	69		2058
	75		2065
	83		2073
	88		2078
	90		2080
	94		2086
	95		2087
	96		2088
	106		2098
	107		2101
	121		2115
	134		2131
	145		2149
	148		2152
	149		2154
	153		2158
	155		2160

V	159	=	2164
	164		2169
	165		2172
	166		2173
	167		2174
	171		2178
	174		2181
	177		2184
	183		2193
	188		2199
	189		2210
	190		2211
	192		2213
	193		2214
	195		2216
	203		2224
	225		2251
	255		2289
	257		2291
	261		2296
	269		2304
	275		2310
	277		2312
	284		2321
	286		2323
	287		2324
	292		2329
	293		2330
	294		2331
	316		2354
	318		2357
	321		2360
	328		2367
	329		2368
	330		2369
	339		2378

V	341	=	2380
	346		2385
	347		2386
	355		2395
	356		2396
	361		2401
	369		2410
	379		2419
	398		2440
	399		2441
	403		2445
	404		2446
	406		2448
	413		2455
	415		2458
	430		2473
	432		2476
	434		2479
	440		2485
	443		2488
	444		2490
	447		2493
	452		2498
	470		2517
	490		2541
	494		2550
	510		2567
	515		2572
	518		2575
	522		2579
	529		2586
	533		2590
	541		2603
	543		2605
	550		2614
	554		2618

BIBLIOGRAPHY.

(1) *Texts.*

(a) *Latin.*

Juvenalis Satirae, ed. Lewis, London, 1873.

C. Plini Secundi Naturalis Historiae Libri, cur. C. Alexandre,
10 vols., Paris 1827.

C. Suetonii Tranquilli Duodecim Caesares, illust. Huse, 2 vols.,
Paris 1828.

C. Taciti Annalium Libri, ed. Furneaux, 2 vols., Oxford 1884.

(Texts referred to, but not quoted, are sufficiently named with the
reference).

(b) *English.*

DODSLEY-HAZLITT, Old English Plays, 4th ed., London 1874 ff.

SHAKESPEARE, Globe edition, ed. Clark and Aldis Wright, London
1864, reprinted 1884.

Other texts named in full with the first reference.

(2) *Dictionaries for classical references.*

LEMPRIÈRE, Classical Dictionary, London (undated).

PAULY, Real-Encyclopädie der Klassischen Altertumswissenschaft,
neue Bearbeitung herausg. von G. Wissowa, Stuttgart 1894.

(3) *Literary History, Biography, History of the Stage.*

ALBRIGHT, The Shaksperian Stage, New York 1909.

BAKER, Biographia Dramatica, London 1782.

BRANDL, Shakespeares Leben u. Werke (in Bd. I, Sh. Dram.
Werke übersetzt von Schlegel u. Tieck, Leipzig u. Wien, 1897).

BRODMEIERS, Die Shakespeare Bühne nach den alten Bühnen-
anweisungen, Weimar 1824.

COLLIER, History of English Dramatic Poetry and Annals of the
Stage, 1831, new. ed. London 1879.

CUNLIFFE, Influence of Seneca on Elizabethan Tragedy, London
1893.

Dictionary of National Biography, London 1885 ff.

FLEAY (1) Biographical Chronicle of the English Drama, 2 vols.,
London 1891.

(2) Chronicle History of the London Stage, London 1890.

FRY, Bibliographical Memoranda in illustration of Old English Literature, Bristol 1816.

GENESTE, History of English Stage, 10 vols., Bath 1832.

HALLIWELL, Dictionary of Old English Plays, London 1840.

HAZLITT (1) English Drama and Stage ; Documents, Treatises etc., 1543-1664 (Roxburghe Library), London 1869.

(2) Handbook to Early English Literature, London 1867.

Historia Histrionica, 1699, reprinted Dodsley-Hazlitt, Vol. XV (v. s.).

KOEPPEL (1) Studien über Shakespeares Einfluss auf zeitgenössische Dramatiker, Louvain 1905.

(2) Ben Jonsons Wirkung auf zeitgenössische Dramatiker, und andere Studien, Heidelberg 1906.

MAAS, Äussere Geschichte der Englischen Theatertruppen, 1559-1642, Louvain 1907.

McKERRON, (Introduction to) The Devils Charter, Louvain 1904.

SKEMP, Some characteristics of the English Stage before the Restoration, Jahrb. d. D. Shakespeare-Gesellsch., 1909.

WARD, History of English Dramatic Literature, 3 vols., new ed., London 1899.

WEGENER, Die Bühneneinrichtung des Shakespearschen Theaters, Halle 1907.

(4) *Philology.*

(a) *Dictionaries.*

A New English Dictionary, ed. Murray, Oxford 1888 ff.

HALLIWELL, Dictionary of Archaic and Provincial Words, 2 vols., 7th ed. London 1872.

NARES, Glossary, ed. Halliwell and Wright, London 1872.

SKEAT, Etymological Dictionary, Oxford 1882.

(b) *General.*

FRANZ, Shakespeare-Grammatik, Halle 1900.

HORN (1) Untersuchungen zur Neuenglischen Lautgeschichte, Strassburg 1905.

(2) Historische Neuenglische Grammatik, 1. Teil : Lautlehre, Strassburg 1908.

JESPERSEN, Progress in Language, London 1894.

KOEPPEL (1) Ellipse des Komparativs vor than, Englische Studien, Bd. XXX.

(2) Spelling-Pronunciations, Strassburg 1901.

SMITH (C. ALPHONSO) : The chief difference between the 1st and 2nd Folios of Shakespeare, Eng. Stud. Bd. XXX.

STORM, Englische Philologie I, 2 Aufl., Leipzig 1892.

SWAEN, Figures of Imprecation, Eng. Stud. Bd. XXIV.

WURTH, Das Wortspiel bei Shakespeare, Wien u. Leipzig 1895.

(5) *Prosody*.

ABBOTT, A Shakespearian Grammar, 3rd ed., London 1871.

ELZE (1) Notes on Elizabethan Dramatists, with conjectural emendations of the text, Halle 1884.

(2) Notes on Elizabethan Dramatists, Halle 1889.

KÖNIG (GOSWIN) Der Vers in Shakespeares Dramen, Strassburg 1888.

SCHIPPER, Neuenglische Metrik (= Englische Metrik, Bd. II), Bonn 1888.

INTRODUCTION

§ I. LIFE OF RICHARDS. Particulars of the life of Nathanael Richards have already been published by Mr Thomas Seccombe in the *Dictionary of National Biography*. We summarize here the salient points.

Nathanael was the son of Richard Richards, rector of Kentisbury in Devonshire, and was born at the parsonage there about 1612. After four years' grounding at Torrington School, he was admitted on the 28th of Feb. 1628-9 at Caius College, Cambridge, where he held a scholarship for three years, and whence he graduated LL. B. in 1634. He was for some time (about 1640) master of St. Albans School, London; and later appears to have succeeded his father at Kentisbury, where he was «preaching minister» in 1654. The date of his death is quite uncertain; but (a point not noted by Mr Seccombe) it must fall after May 18th, 1660, as on this date Richards published a poem «Upon the Declaration of His Majesty King Charles of England the Second» (v. i. p. 26 f.).

An engraved portrait of Richards is prefixed to *Messalina* in the B. M. copy, 162. b. 15 (missing in the second B. M. copy, 643. a. 37). It makes the poet look older than his probable age of 28 years; with a grave, somewhat sanctimonious face; the forehead not very high, but broad; the nose large and slightly arched; the brows strongly arched; and the eyes long and wide open, giving a rather surprised look. He wears a moustache and a small pointed tuft of beard. The flowing hair is crowned with bays. He is dressed in a plain coat, close buttoned, with a plain large white overcollar reaching to the shoulders, and over-cuffs. The left hand holds a book, closed, the forefinger keeping the place. On the poet's left is a tree; on his right a conventional flower; and in the background, a conventional landscape, with a church, mountains, trees, a road, and two problematical cows. Round the portrait run the mottoes « Sen-

tite supera non terrestria | Suspice cælum | Despice mundum | Respice finem » divided above by a coat of arms, under which stands the motto « Cælum cupio ». Below the portrait is a scroll, bearing the inscription « Vera ac viva Effigies Nathanaelis Richards, Gent. T. R. sculp. ».

§ 2. WORKS. Richards' known works, in chronological order, are :

1630 The Celestiall Publican.

1632 Poems, Divine, Morall, and Satyricall.

1640 (1) The Tragedy of Messallina, the Roman Emperesse.

(2) Commendatory verses prefixed to T. Rawlins' tragedy *The Rebellion*.

1641 Poems Sacred and Satyricall.

1650 Truth's Acrostick.

1657 Commendatory verses prefixed to Middleton's *Women beware Women*.

1660 Upon the Declaration of His Majesty King Charles of England the Second.

Messalina ¹⁾, Richards' sole dramatic effort, though never hitherto reprinted, has at least received fairly adequate notice from the historians of the drama. His other work has fared worse. Fry's *Bibl. Memoranda* include an account of the *Poems Sacred and Satyricall*, with excerpts ; but otherwise the poems have been allowed to remain forgotten. We may therefore review them at some length, before passing on to deal with *Messalina*.

All Richards' non-dramatic poetry is in the heroic couplet.

(1.) *The Celestiall Publican* (Small 8vo. Copies in the B. M. ²⁾ and the Huth Library).

The title-page runs :

¹⁾ The texts have *Messallina*. I have ventured to write *Messalina* throughout the Introduction, because in discussing the Latin sources the alternation between the forms proved awkward. Similarly I have written *Silana*, for Richards' *Syllana* or *Sylana*.

²⁾ In the B. M. copy (1077 d. 22), at the end, is bound up a copy of Nicholas Breton's rare poem *A Solemne Passion of the Soules Loue*. The title-page and opening stanzas are missing, and this copy has therefore hitherto passed unrecognised, being catalogued only under *Richards*.

The | Celestiall | Publican. | A Sacred Poem : Liuely describing the
Birth, | Progresse, Bloudy Passion, and | glorious Resurrection of our |
Saviour. |

The Spirituall Sea-Fight. |

The Mischieuos Deceites of | The World, The Flesh, | The Vicious
Courtier. The Iesuite. | The Divell. | Seuen seuerall Poems, with sundry |
Epitaphs and Anagrams. |

By Nathanael Richards Gent. |

Cœlum Cupio. |

London, | Imprinted by Felix Kyngston, for Roger | Michell. 1630.

Prefixed to the poems named on the title-page are two introductory poems. The first, *The Author*, is an acrostic, the initial letters of the verses forming the name Nathanael Richards. It strikes Richards' characteristic note — *sentite supera non terrena* — which is again heard, as indeed throughout all his work, in the second prefatory poem : *To the Heauenly Lover of Diuine Poems* : 24 verses, abusing the « vicious-minded Foole » who lives for lust and « rails » at « desert » ; and dedicating the volume

« ... to thee, whose Sacred Soule desires
Celestiall Solace, Heauenly Holy fires... »

The poems named on the title-page then follow.

The Celestiall Publican : 520 verses, of which, however, verses 83-138 are missing in the B. M. copy ¹⁾. Richards begins the poem by bewailing his wickedness : God alone can save him, the most desperate of sinners. Especially he begs for deliverance from habitual sin, and sets forth its awfulness. Then he recalls past mercies : —

« In my Extreames of grieffe, I call'd on thee,
Mercifull God, and thou didst set me free,
Thou wert my onely Comfort in distresse,
Food, Rayment, all my Care in heauinesse,

¹⁾ Mr Seccombe states, in the *Dict. of Nat. Biog.*, that there are « perfect copies » of *The Celestiall Publican* in the B. M. and Huth Libraries. I have not inspected the Huth Library copy — for the purpose of this sketch it is unnecessary — but the above imperfection in the B. M. copy is clear from the pagination (B₄ and its complementary sheet are missing), and from the catchword (« Field » is the catchword following l. 82 ; while the next extant page begins « Beseech »). Further, F₄ is mutilated, as noted in the B. M. catalogue. The verse-numbering of our quotations allows for the loss of ll. 83-138. As the poem is put together with but little organic connection, the loss in no way disturbs its effect.

My true Physitian in unruly madnesse,
 Celestiall Musicke, in my sadest sadnesse,
 Though all the World forsake me, God is kinde,
 He solace giues to my disconsolate minde,
 O be the same for euer, may no ill
 Seduce my soule to disobay thy will... » ¹⁾

He continues to mingle protestations of sinfulness with prayers for grace and deliverance, especially from lust :

« Like Joseph (Mighty Maker) make me fly
 The tempting Baites of Beauties burning Eye.
 Diuert my sad distressed soule from vice,
 And Rauish me with loue of Paradice.
 Let not my wand'ring Eyes swimme in the fire
 Of Lust-stung lookes ; nor let the loose desire
 Of womans naked Paps, burne out mine Eyes
 With sencelesse gazing ; make me to despise
 All base desires, sinnes of ill-gouern'd youth
 All wicked Customes, gainst thy sacred Truth... » ²⁾

This strain continues up to v. 306 ; then, at v. 307, Richards passes into a rapturous narrative of the Nativity. The following verses give a favourable specimen : —

« When Christ was borne, all were new born agen,
 Nere ³⁾ came like Musicke to the Hearts of Men :
 Angels for ioy, clap their Celestiall Wings,
 And eu'ry Saint, eu'ry Crownd Martyr Sings
 (Magnifico Deum) ». ⁴⁾

Verses 363-372 are arranged in diamond form, and named « the Adamant of Glory ». Then follows an account of the Passion :

« Alone for us, (Heau'ns Glorious Lampe of Grace
 Grou'ling on Earth) fell on his sacred Face,
 He that is euer Lord of Mercies seate,
 Water'd the Garden Cedron with the sweate
 Of bloody Browes, and Body ; heauinesse,
 And deadly sorrow, seiz'd his blessednesse ». ⁵⁾

Two more « figures » follow — « The Key of Heauen » (two crosses, each composed of 16 vv.) and « The Pyramid of Paradise » (vv. 451-468). The remaining 70 verses give a passionate exhortation against sin ; for example —

¹⁾ vv. 65-75.

²⁾ vv. 161-170.

³⁾ *Nere* : ne'er.

⁴⁾ v. 331 ff.

⁵⁾ v. 377 ff.

« O you that stand on Pynacles of state
 Let not the world deceiue you, lest too late
 From off your slipp'ry height you come in thrall
 [T]o ¹⁾ pash yourselues in peeces past recall.
 Sell not fare Lord-ships to keepe Lady-ships, ²⁾
 Nor sucke damnation from a strumpets lips.
 Touch not those Spells of Sparta, let 'em ³⁾ Rot
 When Vertue rules in Man, Lust liues forgot ». ⁴⁾

The poem is marked by much repetition, not only of thought, but also of phrase. Metaphor, and still more, simile, are freely used. For example, the soul is compared to a ship among rocks, or mastless in a storm; to a fly beguiled by a Spider; to a bird caught by a limed twig; man is « fortune's football » ⁵⁾; life « a game at tables »; the heart is like « a frightened Deere »; and so on.

Despite verbosity, conventional phraseology and occasional bathos, a genuine fervour makes itself felt; while the verse is sometimes really musical, and always far more workmanlike than that of *Messalina*.

The Spirituall Sea-fight (208 vv.) opens, addressing the « Emprouer of Angels », with a lament on the temptations to which man is exposed, describing the devil's attacks on the defenceless soul. The sea-fight metaphor from which the poem is named begins at v. 21 : —

« My Soul's a Ship, tost on the Mountaine Seas
 Of this vast World, she neuer liues at ease;
 Her sayles are sighes, her Anchor deepe despaire,
 Her Compasse Error, her sad Pilot, Care;
 Farre off from safeties shore, floates on the waues
 Of fearefull billowes, Soul deuouring Graues.
 Rough, blustr'ing, stubborne stormes, yeeld no reliefe [.]
 On euery Shrowd, Each Tackling, hangs a griefe :
 Death like a darke cloud, besets euery Place,
 Here Rocks of Ruine, there ⁶⁾ Pyrates lie in Chase
 In euery corner, Mischiefes hourelly lurke,
 Pride fights against us like a furious *Turke*;
 Lust like a trech'rous *Spaniard*; murd'ring *French*,

¹⁾ T missing in text.

²⁾ Borrowed from Tourneur's *Revenger's Tragedy*, Act III (Dodsley-Hazlitt, X. p. 60): « Are lordships sold to maintain ladyships? »

³⁾ Text reads « e'm ».

⁴⁾ v. 481 ff.

⁵⁾ Cf. Webster, *Duchess of Malfi* V. 4 :

« We are merely the stars' tennis balls, struck and bandied
 Which way please them ».

⁶⁾ Text reads « their ».

Like an infected poyson's loathsome stench,
Gluttonie like a *Germaine*, drunkennesse
Like a *Dutch Dun-kercker*; whose impiouesnesse
Stiles him the Master Gunner, to giue fire
To all sinnes blacke Artillery, Hell's Ire
Infernal chaine-shot, All soule-murd'ring strife,
To sinke Man's weather-beaten ship of Life ». ¹⁾

The soul's fight against the devils of sin is described, still in the metaphor of the sea-fight. Then follows a description of the voyage of the ship of the soul to the Holy Land : Truth is its « card » the Holy Ghost its pilot, and at the port (« the Cape of Comfort ») waits Christ, to whom all must pray for help in the storm.

At v. 105, the nautical metaphor gives way to a military metaphor. The need for constant struggle and watchfulness is emphasised, and the uncertainty of life. Then the hosts of sin, waiting to attack the soul, are described : —

« Gluttonie for a Corporall do's stand,
Au'rice a Pionier, Sloth you may spie
An idle Gentleman of a Company.
Wrath's the Serieant, Enuie the Coloures gaine,
Lust the Liefteenant is; Pride the Captaine ». ²⁾

The poem then closes with a prayer for strength in « The Holy Battle ». Under the poem stands the motto *Spes mea Christo*. ³⁾

The most noteworthy point about *The Spirituall Sea-fight* is the vigour with which the metaphor — the obviousness of which must, however, be admitted — is sustained ; while secondary metaphors and similes are profusely introduced, often with a marginal note to ensure their recognition ! Richards displays in all his work great fondness for simile and metaphor, especially for the former ; and this poem is his most determined exercise therein.

Richards' Satires. The two poems described above are « divine and morall » ; the next four of this volume are satirical ; the last, though containing touches of satire, returns rather to the ear-

¹⁾ v. 21 ff.

²⁾ v. 164 ff.

³⁾ *Sic.* for [in] Christo.

lier moral type. Richards' satire is of the direct, cudgelling variety ¹⁾ — smashing invective, without any attempt at irony — and is levelled against general faults and vices, scarcely ever against individuals. The denunciation of Garnett, in *The Jesuite*, which forms the exception necessitating the qualification in the last statement, is indeed only an apparent exception (v. i., p. 11 f.).

Richards' favourite object of attack is lust ; above all, the lust of women, which he regards as the usual cause of sin in men : points instructive for the choice of subject, and its treatment, in *Messalina*. It is here especially that Juvenal's influence shows itself, many passages recalling the 6th Satire ²⁾, though few close imitations occur. Less frequently (in one entire poem and several incidental references), but ever more bitterly, Richards attacks the Jesuits. The stock objects of satire — corruption in office-holders and at the Court, the neglect of true poetry and the support of vicious verse, vanity in dress, and so on, receive vigorous though less frequent attention.

Richards' satires thus show the tendencies natural to his education. The first volume of his poems, containing the bulk of his satirical work, was published when he was (probably) only eighteen years old — an undergraduate, whose experience of life was limited to the Devonshire rectory and school, with a few terms at the University. He was probably primed from home with moral maxims against the world, the flesh and the devil, above all against the enticements of woman ; and with a hearty hatred for the Jesuits. The rectory flavour is strong in his work, and the persistence of the same tendencies in his later productions shows that they harmonised with his character as well as with his education. These antecedents make very comprehensible the precocity of Richards' moral strictures, which, however, the « sense of sin » in himself saves from degeneration into mere priggishness.

In style, the satires differ from the sacred poems chiefly in their less frequent use of simile and metaphor ; a difference

¹⁾ The method of the followers of Juvenal, to borrow Dryden's classification.

²⁾ Especially in *The Vicious Courtier* (v. p. 10).

natural to, though not compelled by, the difference in subject and standpoint.

The World (satire, 216 vv.) opens with a diatribe on « this strumpet World » and proceeds to condemn categorically the follies and sins of the age ; first, vanity and love of show, then the sins of the bribed magistrate, the « knaue Knight », the ambitious and lustful lord and lady, the jealous husband, the careless clergyman, the greedy lawyer. The rapid gain of wealth by the wicked, and the ill fortune of the deserving, are described ; life is a « long sad Pilgrimage of woe », « a cunning ginne » to « entrap soules », and prayer alone can bring help. At v. 109 begins an interesting passage on the public attitude to poetry, recalling the opening address *To the Heauenly Lover of Diuine Poems* (v. s. p. 3)

As Prose ill read, abide[s] too much misusing,
Or Vertuous verse, when rogues haue the perusing,
So fares it with the faire and flourishing Line,
Of that sweet Heauenly straine, Poesie diuine,
Basely neglected by the Monster Crew,
Of Puff-Paste muddie Mindes ; that pish, and mew,
Make a wry, Close-stool-face ; a squintey'd glance
At Vertuous verse ; whose sad mischance
Is to goe unregarded ¹⁾, when the crime
Of a lasciuious, Bastard, Ballet rime,
(If baudy enough) though ne'r so unfit
Wins fauour, profit, and the praise of wit.
Read with delight, and much, too much requir'd,
Coppies fought after, gredily desir'd ».

Amongst this vicious, successful poetry is mentioned « wanton Ouid's straine » ; while Richards' own view of the function of art appears, with most emphatic capitals :

« The Glorious Godly Aime of Noble Verse
Which points at Heau'n... » ²⁾

Prayers for mercy and for salvation from sin follow, recalling *The Celestiall Publican*. Then follows a passage on the miseries of want, so feeling as almost to suggest that Richards knew

¹⁾ The text has a single bracket, following *unregarded* ; the earlier bracket, which is missing, was presumably intended to precede *whose*.

²⁾ v. 137 f.

the pinch, despite the tolerable circumstances indicated by the known facts of his life ¹⁾).

« Mis'ry of Miseries, when Coyne growes scant
Man's Fortun's Foot-ball ²⁾, ther's no woe to want.
It dulls braue witts, when nothing else can doe it ;
Tames, and makes desp'rate when Time brings us to it
Want makes a man Turn Slaue, unto a Slaue
Scoft, scorn'd, and flouted at by eu'ry knaue
By eu'ry silken sodden-headed Foole
That neuer felt Heau'ns scourge, nor Mis'ries Schoole ». ³⁾

He exhorts the reader therefore to pray against want, and concludes with a prayer that the good may at last escape to Heaven,

« Free from this World ; whose Pompe, and Brauery,
Is but a Land of Durt, meere slavery ».

The Flesh (satire, 110 vv. ; vv. 9 and 10 lost, and v. 11 damaged, by the mutilation of page F₄ at the top). Here Richards finds the true centre of the vicious trinity, touched already in *The World* and again in *The Diuell*. A few lines may serve as specimen :

« Man at the best, is now become so fraile
As what cannot a spruce Queane, with a smooth Taile,
Make him beleuee ; such witchcraft euer fly,
Lust reuells in the Magicke of her eye.
That star-shooting, twinckling eye, do's ne'r shine,
But to the Ruine, of all thoughts diuine.
Twixt her aluring Lips, there liues a Spell
To sucke, and sincke, and kisse a man to Hell.
Touch but her Palmes, there sinnes moist hand inuites
To a soul-damning Banquet ; such delights,
As often make the wisest Man an Asse,
Coward, and Foole, Times vitious Looking-Glasse ». ⁴⁾

Richards then specially mentions « nice dames » who protest honesty, but « like the Jesuite » are secretly insatiate — an idea repeated in *Messalina*, IV. 250 ff. Tears of repentance are the only cure for lust ; and, in conclusion, the poet exorcises lust from himself in the names of the Trinity and of Chastity.

¹⁾ At this time (1630 or rather earlier) he was enjoying a scholarship at Caius College (v. s., p. 1) ; but that does not preclude the possibility that « Coyne » grew « scant ».

²⁾ Repeating a metaphor from *The Celestiall Publican*, v. p. 5, note 5).

³⁾ v. 169 f.

⁴⁾ v. 67 ff.

The Vicious Courtier (satire, 270 vv.) opens with a declaration that the satire is innocent of malice against any individual; it is to be applied generally — a « harmless Satyr » an « honest Satyr », the object of which is

« The Vicious Courtier[,] he whose Mushrome sight
Time stiles ignoble, a meere Carpet Knight.
A Lazie Lust-stung Lord, periur'd, uniust,
Slaue to the Itching of his Mistris Lust.
One that admires her brauery with Oathes
Much wicked wit consumes in gawdy Cloathes :
Which speaks him to the World a March-paine Man
A very mighty Muske-Cat ; one that can,
(To please State-strumpets) turne Capitall Calfe
Reu'rence her shooe-shadow, in her behalfe
Sweare by Olympicke Ioue, she's the Fairest
That e're breath'd, most Excellent, the Rarest ». ¹⁾

Richards denounces the tricks and vanities of the courtier — painting, powdering the hair, scenting the person with amber; and sighs for the days when knights were true knights, ready to protect the virgin and succour the distressed. Then, in a passage (vv. 101-114) of which eight verses are worked into *Messalina* ²⁾, he describes the degradation of serving a vicious master. Next is satirised the courtier who, pretending friendship, plots against or even poisons his dearest friends; then the flattering courtier, who tricks the great into unwise or treasonable speech and betrays them. This part of the poem especially gives the impression of a poetic exercise modelled on the Roman satirists, and completely uninformed by personal experience. The country-bred undergraduate, eighteen years old at the most, could indeed know the treacheries of the court only from hearsay, elaborated by recollections of the classical satirists. There is a very boyish touch in the warning which follows: one should go to Court only to see it, beware of its maze of sin. After more denunciations of courtiers' pride, vanity, readiness for murder, and above all, of their lust, Richards returns yet again to his favourite object of attack, the profligacy of women, in a long

¹⁾ v. 29 ff.

²⁾ *Messalina* IV. 286 ff.; v. note ad loc.

passage distinctly recalling Juvenal's sixth Satire ¹⁾ :

« Neuer was any great Arch-mischiefe done,
But by a Whore, or a Priest, first begun ²⁾,

Why should the elfe, with painting seeme more faire ?
Suffer her naked Breasts lie open bare ?
Why use false coulour'd haire, Embost with Gold ?
Pounc'd with Perfumes, Lockes curled to behold ?
Why Oyles ? Waters for Teeth ? Why void of Grace ?
With spots (like Rats-Dung) to blacke patch the face ?
Or why (in Baths of Milke) wash her proud skin ? ³⁾
Why wrong Heau'ns workmanship, with such hie sin ?
If not like Circe, by enchantment strange,
Men into Beasts and Beast-like natures change ». ⁴⁾

Twenty verses more are devoted to special condemnation of the practice of painting the face. Then the poem concludes, rather abruptly, with eight verses declaring that the wise man will fly from the strumpet and from all sin.

This poem, more even than the others, is marked by constant repetition ; strictures on lust especially recurring again and again, with the same ideas dressed in only slightly varying phrases.

The Jesuite (satire, 164 vv.). Richards first declares that he means to write only what he knows to be true :

« Not like ŷ Masse-Priest, he whose mouth is cram'd
With words ŷ speak all Protestants are damn'd.
Him nor his Flocke, I dare not censure so,
Nor mean to write more than I iustly know
To be most true ; In which knowne Path I finde,
Counterfeit Catholiques, so grossely blinde,

¹⁾ Cf. especially vv. 231-2 with Sat. VI. 120-4

...*nigrum flavo crinem abscondente galero*
intravit calidum veteri centone lupanar
et cellam vacuum atque suam. Tunc nuda papillis
constitit auratis titulum...

Here we have the explanation of Richards' strange phrase « false coulour'd haire, *Embost with Gold* » ; he transfers the description from « *papillis auratis* ». It is interesting to find Richards using in his first volume the detail of this passage, describing Messalina's visits to the brothel, which later he turned effectively to account in his play. We may perhaps have here the hint which drew his attention to her story.

²⁾ v. 216 f.

³⁾ Cf. *Deaths Masqueing Night* (p. 25, and note 3).

⁴⁾ v. 230 ff.

They dare outface Heau'ns Truth, forg'd lies maintaine
To Cloake the cunning Jesuites subtilt braine.
He that do's Theefe-like waite for Vertues fall
Liues in perpetuall watch, to blow up all ». ¹⁾

Richards proceeds to denounce particularly Garnett ²⁾ and the Gunpowder Plot, and, mocking the Spanish Jesuits' regard for him, which makes of the « villaine » and « traitor » « a martyr'd Saint », to give a burlesque description of his picture, placed at the altar. Then, warming to the attack, he generalises : the Jesuits are « protectors of all villany » ; first, in the state — they are poisoners, plotters, murderers, traitors and fomenters of treason, hypocrites. A few verses may be given as specimen of this headlong torrent of invective : —

« He that dares awe his Country, King and State,
Smile, and yet be a villaine ³⁾, all men hate,
Set Princes at debate, befoole the Tymes,
Poyson the world, with irreligious Crymes,
Shed Innocent blood, all for Religion's sake... » ⁴⁾

Richards next denounces the Jesuits' practices against individuals, charging them with intrigues to gain inheritances, and, above all, with insatiate lust cloaked by their religion. The rest of the piece merely expands this last charge in utterly unrestrained terms, concluding : —

« Their thread of Doctrine [a]mong women spun,
Is to whore all, be she the chastest Nun,
If she denie to yeeld, Murther and Rape,
Shall Wolfe-like seize that prey, there's no escape,
Such is the Murd'ring Minde of him we call,
Natures Monster, Priest Jesuiticall ». ⁵⁾

This satire far exceeds all the others in violence, and there

¹⁾ v. 1 ff.

²⁾ Henry Garnett (1555-1606), appointed Superior of the Jesuits in the province of England in 1587, was executed on May 3, 1606, for complicity in the Gunpowder Plot, after repeated examinations, in all of which he protested that his only knowledge of the plot was under the seal of confession, and that he tried to dissuade the conspirators. Many Roman Catholics regarded him as a martyr. For further particulars, v. *D. N. B.*

³⁾ Cf. *Hamlet*, I. 5. 108 : ... « One may smile, and smile, and be a villain ».

⁴⁾ v. 97 ff.

⁵⁾ v. 159 ff.

is a note of personal hatred in its passion of abuse. The long denunciation of Garnett, the only attack on an individual in Richards' satires, is introduced to damn all Jesuits in the person of their English Provincial, by reawakening memories of the Gunpowder Plot.

In *The Divell* (212 vv.) Richards returns, through more general satire, to moral exhortation. The poem describes first how the devil is active everywhere — even in Church : —

« Search all the Earth, you eu'ry where shall see,
Satan most busie, from the Church not free,
The very Pulpit haunts, and being vext,
Seekes how to put the Preacher from his Text :
Such as teach others, yet themselves neglect,
And with sinnes Cassocke hide their owne defect ;
From Pew to Pew, unseene ; Hel's Feind do's creepe,
To dull the Hearers Eares, Ioggs some a sleepe,
Some to vaine prattle, others still to prie,
With wanton lookes, for a bewitching Eye.
Some greedily imployes, to spie out Fashions,
To glut the humours of proud womens passions ». ¹⁾

Man is constantly tempted, and tends to evil ; Richards therefore exhorts the reader to think of the Day of Judgment, of Heaven and Hell. Heaven receives a description in abstract terms, tolerable though conventional : poverty, oppressed chastity, the wrongs of the widow and the fatherless, are redressed there. Hell, on the other hand, is described in concrete terms, feebly imitating the description by the « Ghost of Andrea » in *The Spanish Tragedie* ²⁾, with borrowings also from

¹⁾ v. 1 ff.

²⁾ « Where bloudie furies shakes their whips of steele,
And poore *Ixion* turnes an endles wheele ;
Where vsurers are choakt with melting golde,
And wantons are imbraste with ouglie Snakes,
And murderers grone with neuer killing wounds,
And periurde wightes scalded in boyling lead
And all foule sinnes with torments ouerwhelmd ».

The Spanish Tragedie, I. 1. 65 ff.

Mr Boas notes Kyd's indebtedness in this passage to *Aeneid* VI. 570-1, 601, 608-713, 616-7 ; but there can be no doubt that both Ford and Richards borrowed from Kyd, not from the *Aeneid*.

Ford's development of the same passage ¹⁾ :

« There, painted Pride liues crown'd in flaming fire
The Glorious Strumpet, whipt with burning wyer ²⁾
Fed, is the Lust-provoking Letcher there
With scorching Coles, such as delight to sweare,
Swallow the Drunkards euer scalding Oyle,
There, Usurers in Pooles of Sulphure boyle,
Murther, Rape, Incest, endlesse torments feele,
The Racke of vengeance, and the burning wheele ». ³⁾

Then follow exhortations to repentance, with tears and prayer. Prayer, says Richards, in one of his best passages, must be coupled with good works : —

« Many Men pray ; But he the Glory winnes,
Who prayes, to be disburthen'd from his sinnes ;
And views the poor Mans Labour, with the Eye
Of sweete reliefe ; ther's Noble Charitie :
The heart of such a Man, may sometimes shrinke
Under Temptations weight, but neuer sinke :
God makes him here, Lord Steward of that store,
He deales so chearefully among the poore ». ⁴⁾

More warnings follow, against sin, especially against the temptations of beauty ; and after a prayer for help, to « the Eternal Essence », the poem concludes with an exhortation to virtue and faith.

¹⁾

« There is burning oil

Pour'd down the drunkard's throat ; the usurer
Is forc'd to sup whole draughts of molten gold ;
There is the murderer for ever stabb'd,
Yet can he never die ; there lies the wanton
On racks of burning steel, whiles in his soul
He feels the torment of his raging lust ».

'Tis Pity she's a Whore, III. 6. 9 ff.

Though Richards has borrowed chiefly from Kyd, it is clear that he was also acquainted with Ford's fine passage. In the latter, the first two lines, and « racks of burning steel » yield Richards' « swallow the Drunkards euer scalding Oyle » and « The Racke of vengeance » — neither phrase suggested in Kyd's passage.

To the best of my knowledge, Ford's debt to Kyd in this passage has never hitherto been pointed out. It is not mentioned in the latest edition of his works : *The Works of John Ford*, ed. by Wm. Gifford, with additions by Rev. Alex. Dyce, now reissued with further additions. London, 1895.

²⁾ whipt with burning wyer : from Kyd's « whips of steele » (v. p. 13, note 2) : cf. *The Queen* (ed. Prof. W. Bang, *Materialien* XIII) l. 2583 « The fabled whips of steele ».

³⁾ v. 93 ff.

⁴⁾ v. 145 ff.

The poem, after the opening verses, is « moral » rather than satirical, and the style also returns towards that of *The Celestiall Publican* and *The Spirituall Sea-fight*. There is more simile than in the satires, though less than in the two « sacred » poems just named. The most elaborate simile fills eight verses (45-52), comparing man to a tree, evil in all its parts : the root, evil thoughts, the fruit, sin ; and so on.

The Divell is the last of the « seuen seuerall poems » forming the main substance of the book. Next follow « Acrosticke Epitaphes upon King Iames, Prince Lodowicke, Duke of Richmond, Lord Marques Hamleton, and others ». The verses not named in this title are : Arthur, Lord Chichester, His Epitaph. Anagrams to the Rt Hon. Robert, Earle of Warwicke (Latin and English) ; to the Rt. Hon. Sir Julius Cæsar, Master of the Rolls ; Verses upon the Principall Coate at Armes, of my Honorable Friend Sir Henry Hart ; An Acrosticke compos'd at the Marriage of my honour'd Friend Sir Thomas Stanly ; Verses upon Sr Thomas Stanly his Lady, her first beeing with Childe ; A Memoriall upon the Death of that True Honorable Valiant Commander, Sr Francis Carew ; an Epitaph upon the Right Honourable Lady, the Lady Francis, Sister to Theophilus Earle of Lincolne ; Upon the Death of Mistris Margaret Brogræue ; Upon my worthy Friend Mr Charles Ayte ; Mary Heath [Anagram] ; To My much respected true Friend, Master William Utber ; To His respected Friend, Mr Valentine Oldis ; To My beloued Friend Mr Francis Hurst.

From this section we may quote *Duke Richmonds Ghost* (as the poem is called in the text which appears as *Prince Lodowicke* in the list of contents quoted above), perhaps the best specimen :

« L ife of that Loue, to me on Earth, most Deare,
O cease to grieue, for me let no sad Teare
D rop from thy Fun'rall Eyes ; Death came, I went
O 're ioyd from Earth, to Heau'ns pure Parlaiment.
W hy then sad sweet, which once my heart did burne
I n true Loues Flames, why dost thou sit und mourne ?
C leare Eyes, Looke up, ioy in th' Allternall Trine,
K eep teares for sinne ; so Turtle liue Diuine.

S aintlike they liue, where Vertue, rules high blood,
 T 'is most, most fearefull to be Great, not Good ¹⁾,
 U nlocke thy treasure then ; Heau'ns steward be
 A nd what I left undone, doe thou for me ;
 R eward thy Seruants, Good Deeds lead the way
 T o make us liue best in the latter day.
 So farewell Sweet, Good God from wayes uneuen
 Thy Ship of Life steere to the Land of Heauen ».

The last section of this volume opens with *Loves Sonnet* : 10 vv. in which the author declares his love and implores pity ; a very boyish little essay in the sentimental, quite pretty but quite undistinguished. The same may be said of *Sorrows Sonnet* (14 vv.) which tells that he once loved and was beloved ; but friends interfered, and his beloved died, while he cannot die, but must live on in sorrow.

The next poem, *Upon a Glitering Smocke Gallant sitting at a Play* (26 vv.), describes in the first person present the tempest of desire raised by the sight of a very *decolletée* beauty, and prays for help.

Then follow 6 epigrammatic verses : *The difference betwixt Acquaintance and a Friend*.

The volume is completed by a poem (56 vv.) *Upon the Unkindnesse of a Friend*, who, on receiving from him a reproof for whoring, drinking, and nourishing court vanities, has left him abruptly.

Poems Divine, Morall and Satyricall (1632, for James Boler, 8vo ; unique copy in the Huth Library) : merely a reissue of a few unsold copies of the original edition described above, with a few unimportant omissions (*D. N. B.*).

The sets of commendatory verses prefixed to Rawlins' *Rebellion* and Middleton's *Women beware Women* are quite undistinguished from the ordinary run of such verses. The second-named set harps on Richards' favourite string : —

« *Women beware Women* ; 'tis a true text
 Never to be forgot ; drabs of state vext
 Have plots, poisons, mischiefs that seldom miss
 To murder virtue with a venom-kiss... » etc.

¹⁾ Cf. *The Divell*, v. 151 ; *Messalina* I. 9, note.

Poems Sacred and Satyricall (« Printed at London by T. Paine for H. Blunden at the Castle in Cornehill. 1641 ». 8vo. B. M. Library) : Mr Seccombe's ¹⁾ dismissal of this volume as a reprint, with a few additions, of *The Celestiall Publican*, is rather too summary. The additions are considerable ; and the matter taken from *The Celestiall Publican*, which it is true forms the bulk of the volume, is rearranged and occasionally otherwise altered. The title-page gives a list of twenty-two poems ; to which, to complete the contents of the volume, we must add *The Author* (the acrostic previously published at the beginning of *C. P.* ²⁾), slightly altered), the Dedication and six couplets translating Latin epigrams. The Dedication — « To Alderman Thomas Soame Esq., one of the Burgesses of Parliament for the Honorable City of London » — sets forth the author's aims in terms recalling the Epistle Dedicatory to *Messalina* : « the exaltation of Vertue, the detestation of Vice, and like the Seamans Compasse to direct soules from the dangerous Passage indirect ».

A brief account of the individual poems may be given, following the order of the volume.

Prayers Paradise (472 vv.) : After an invocation to God to guide his pen, the poet states the necessity of prayer ; first (v. 17 ff.) for the King and Parliament, that the nation may live at peace. The horrors of war are painted, from which England has been spared (a passage on which the events beginning in the year following its publication form for the modern reader an ironical comment). The power of prayer is exalted, and exemplified in the lives of Elijah, Moses and Aaron. As the skill of the Pilot is first shown in the storm, so the Christian is first proved in his prayers. The following passage, like the opening verses of *The Divell*, shows the indignation of the son of the parsonage, himself a budding parson, against some churchgoers' habits. It still reads very freshly :

¹⁾ *D. N. B.*, article Nathanael Richards.

²⁾ As frequent reference must be made to *The Celestiall Publican*, the abbreviation *C. P.* will be used henceforward.

« Soules that will mount, gaine a Celestiall Crowne,
Must pray with ardency, looke up, not downe,
Like times too many mumblers that doe fall
To pray, on the halfe knee, or none at all,
Nor desperately like such, as thinke no sinne
To come to Church, till Sermon time beginne ;
Entring (O most abhorr'd) so sneakingly
So rude in rev'rence, pray so peakingly,
As doth amaze religious fortitude ». ¹⁾

Incidentally condemning sects and schisms, Richards contrasts the absence of fervour in prayer to God, during which the mind wanders to profane things, with the ardour of supplication to an earthly king. Hence it is that prayer fails, from its lack of fervour ²⁾. The power of God is exalted, and the helplessness of man shown its only refuge in prayer. Next, a dozen verses from *C. P.* are worked in, praising God's mercy : vv. 319-20 repeat, with slight alterations, *C. P.* 55-6 ; vv. 321-30 slightly modify *C. P.* 55-64.

The exhortation of prayer then continues, in a variety of metaphors and similes : the Christian must be a sentinel, a soldier against the hosts of sin ; the soul is an actor, in the theatre of Time, to the audience of the Trinity ; or again, a Musketeer. One passage hints the explanation of the title of the *C. P.*

« Act to the life the *Publicans* true part,
Knocke, and knocke hard ; make Vertues hammer felt
On thy hearts flinty Anvile... » ³⁾

This poem, which is much the most important new one of the volume, very closely resembles the exhortatory parts of the sacred poems in the 1630 volume, in which most of its thoughts — commonplaces of religious verse — had already been expressed. Richards' love of simile and metaphor again shows itself.

The World repeats the original version (v. s.) with very trifling changes, omitting two lines and adding four.

¹⁾ v. 123 ff.

²⁾ Cf. *Hamlet* III. iii. 97 f. :

« My words fly up, my thoughts remain below :
Words without thoughts never to heaven go ».

Cf. note on *Messalina*, II. 521.

³⁾ v. 457 ff.

The Flesh repeats the original version, with a few changes in the direction of less drastic expression. Verses 1, 2, 25-6, 67-92 of the original version are omitted; and new verses are added, viz. 23-6, 67-86.

The Jesuite is repeated unaltered.

The Devill is shortened, from the 212 verses of the original *Divell*, to 124 verses. Vv. 1-118 repeat the original, except for the omission of two verses (115-6) and the addition of two new verses (53-4). The revised version then omits the rest, up to the last six lines of the original, which form the conclusion here also. Some of the passages of the original version, here omitted, are used in other poems in this volume, especially in *The Penitent Sinner* (v. i. p. 20 f.).

Mans Miserie (82 vv.): the title suggests the subject of the poem — the lamentable dangers to the soul in this world of sin. It opens by comparing man's life to a watch, going correctly when he is good, out of order when he is bad. This simile gives place, at v. 35, to the metaphor « Man is an Actor, and the World the Stage » — four verses already published in *Messalina*, but probably originally written here ¹⁾, and in this case dating the poem not later than 1639.

Verses 39-44 repeat *The Devill* vv. 29-34, already printed in this same volume; and vv. 45-8 repeat *The Flesh* vv. 43-6, also already given a few pages earlier. The obvious inference from these repetitions is that the volume was not carefully revised for the press ²⁾.

Richards had presumably revised and rearranged and added to his poems, at intervals, between 1632 and 1641; and transferred these passages to his new poem without cancelling them in their original settings.

After these hashed passages on the snares of the devil and the weakness of the flesh, the rest of the poem is filled with

¹⁾ Cf. *Messalina* V. 321, note.

²⁾ This is corroborated by, and in turn corroborates, the similar probability in the case of *Messalina*: v. notes on I. 49, II. 251; and Introduction, p. 59. Cf. also *The Soules Seafight*, p. 21.

exhortations to the reader to recognise his own faults, and not to ignore them while denouncing the faults of others.

Sinnes Infirmities (34 vv.) again sets forth man's sinfulness, and his misery until he makes peace with God through penitence, in tears.

Sinnes Impudence (142 vv.) is a moral satire. Denouncing the brazenness with which sin flaunts itself, Richards likens the soul to a besieged city. Then, with that emphasis on good works already noted in *The Divell* and *Duke Richmonds Ghost*, and to be noted again in *Charitie* (v. p. 24), he satirises the « worldly churl » who, though he goes to church and talks religiously, will yet do no charity ; and he then proceeds

« Sinne for a while may with a Brasen face
Outbrave poore Vertue, flourish for a space,
Feede hot, and high, swimme in the worlds delight
As if Vice only, were heav'ns Favorite,
Be fat in folly, curious scoffes, that dare
Mocke at the wrinckled lookes of honest care,
Scorne leane Ribb'd Art, all griefes which interlace
The Lines of sorrow writ in Vertues face.
Sinne may doe this ; rais'd on the loftie stile,
Of Prides preferment for a little while.
But if time lend thee yeares for to observe
You soone shall see proud sinne, ready to sterve
Blushing for shame, and halting on a crutch
Spotted all o're with Biles ; loathsome to touch ».¹⁾

The satire next turns against regard for fine clothes, and then returns to niggardliness in charity ; concluding with an exhortation against these sins, which recrucify Christ.

This poem is written in a direct style, in keeping with its satirical character, figurative elements being used only sparingly.

The Penitent Sinner (288 vv.) is a shortened and rearranged version of *C. P.* (464 vv.), with short interpolations from *The Divell*, and a few unimportant new verses and changes in phrase. All the passages of *C. P.* which celebrate Christ, and the device-poems (Pyramid of Grace, Adamant of Glory, etc.),

¹⁾ v. 65 ff.

are omitted here ¹⁾. The slight changes in the matter retained tend, as in *The Flesh*, towards less drastic phrasing : e. g. « Woman's naked paps »²⁾ is changed to « Beauties Bravery »³⁾. The rearrangement has very little effect — evidence of the absence of organic quality in the original poem. Analysis of the first hundred lines of the new version will show its relation to the original :

Penitent Sinner : vv. 1-10 repeat *C. P.* 13-22

11-12 » » 25-6

13-26 » *Divell* (1st Version) 181-194

27-38 » *C. P.* 275-286

39-46 » » 75-82

47-66 » » 289-308

67 repeats » 309 (altered)

68-70 are new.

71-8 repeat *Divell* (1st Version) 195-202

79-86 » *C. P.* 245-252

87-94 » » 27-34

95-6 » » 163-4

97-8 » » 459-460

99-102 » » 141-4

The Soules Seafight (214 vv.) is a revised version of *The Spirituall Seafight* ; with 20 vv. of the original version omitted (vv. 137-152, 201-4), 26 vv. added (vv. 59-66 are new, expanding the comparison of the soul to a ship in battle ; vv. 193-210 repeat the last 18 vv. of *The Flesh*, given already in this volume) ⁴⁾ ; and a few phrasal changes, again in the direction of moderation (e. g. « lazie lap of sin » for the original « strumpet lap of sin »).

The Virgins Honour (62 vv.) : A virgin's prayer, first for help to keep free from all unchaste thoughts and acts ; next, to obey her parents, for whom she also prays ; and lastly

¹⁾ Often to be used elsewhere in this volume ; v. s., *Prayers Paradise* ; v. i., *Mercies Miracle, Faith, Vertues Pyramid*.

²⁾ *C. P.* v. 167.

³⁾ *Penitent Sinner* v. 107.

⁴⁾ Like the other repetitions noted above, this gives evidence that the volume was not revised for the press. Cf. remarks above on *Mans Miserie*, (p. 19).

« ... if thy will e're call me to the state
Of honorable wedlocke ; let my Mate
Be such a one (good God) with whom I may
Serve thee in peace ; and never goe astray ». ¹⁾

It is quite pretty, but not noteworthy for any poetic quality. Interesting, however, is the resemblance between the lines just quoted and a passage in T. Heywood's translation of the dialogue of Erasmus *Proci et Puellæ* :

« Mar. And yet pure chastitie's a thing (they say)
To God most gratefull.
Pam. And I therefore pray,
Hee'll send me a chast Virgin to my wife
With whom to lead a chast vnquestion'd life ²⁾ ».

The resemblance may be purely accidental, for the thought is commonplace enough ; but the probability that Richards borrowed the hint, and from Heywood rather than direct from Erasmus ³⁾ is increased by the resemblance of the next poem to another in Heywood's volume. The latter bears the date 1637, which would give the very plausible date 1637-40 for this poem and the next.

The Single and Married Life (70 vv.) dismisses the first part of its subject in 16 verses, depreciating the single life with its temptations to lust, and exalting the joy and virtue of happy marriage. The rest of the poem contrasts happy with unhappy marriage, and declares the need for solemn consideration in choosing a mate.

« The Married life, I fitly may compare
To Heav'n or Hell, unto the Earth, or Ayre,
'Tis Heav'n where harmelesse Turtle Mates agree,
But Dismall Hell where Couples faithlesse be,
Sweet like the dainty wholesome Ayre to sense,
Where Man and Wife content, shunne rude offence.
But where deepe discorde rules, and proud disdaine,
There, like the gaping Tongue-tide Earth for Raine
(Sun-burnt with sordid Actions, deeds unjust)
They partch to Cinders, fall away to dust ». ⁴⁾

¹⁾ v. 59 ff.

²⁾ Tho. Heywood, *Pleasant Dialogues and Drama's* (ed. W. Bang, *Materialien* Bd. III, 1903) : *Proci et Puella*, ll. 1263 ff.

³⁾ « MA. Attamen aiunt, rem Deo gratissimam esse castitatem. PA. Et ideo castam puellam mihi cupio nubere, ut cum illa caste vivam ». *Proci et Puella* ll. 206 f., reprinted by Prof. Bang, *loc. cit.* p. 320.

⁴⁾ v. 43 ff.

Here again an interesting parallel occurs in Heywood's *Pleasant Dialogues*, in *Anna and Phillis*, a translation through an intermediate Latin text of Vader Cats' *Maegden-Plicht ofte Ampt der Jonck-vrouwen*, Middelburgh 1618. After discussing the relative merits of virginity and wedlock, Heywood's dialogue lays down maxims for husband and wife ¹⁾. The resemblance is however not close enough for any connection to be definitely inferred, though as remarked above in our note on *The Virgins Prayer*, there is nothing improbable in the supposition.

Tears Triumph : 80 vv., exalting the virtue of repentant tears, which gain pardon for sin. An unimportant poem, marked by numerous scriptural allusions.

Mercies Miracle (118 vv.) opens with the « Adamant of Glory » from *C. P.* (vv. 363-372), then continues to exalt the glory and mercy of God in contrast with the sinfulness and mercilessness of man. The poet recalls the advent and the sufferings of Christ, and marvels that men can ever forget such mercy. Six lines from *The Divell* (original version vv. 131-6) conclude the poem.

Vv. 21-2, already published in *Messalina* (V. 316-7) were probably written first in this setting ²⁾; and the poem is thus dated as not later than 1639.

Faith (48 vv.) opens with a device-poem, in form dimly suggesting a lamp. The sixteen verses composing it are patched together from *C. P.* : —

<i>Faith</i> : vv.	1-2	repeat	<i>C. P.</i>	vv.	429-30
	3-4	»	»	»	423-4
	5-6	»	»	»	393-4
	7-8	»	»	»	431-2
	9-12	»	»	»	383-6
	13-16	»	»	»	411-414

The remaining 32 vv. of the poem are new. They exalt faith, giving scriptural examples.

Hope : 42 vv. in praise of Hope, the first 18 being printed in the form of an anchor.

¹⁾ Ll. 7764 ff. in Prof. Bang's edition, cited above. For the original cf. *ib.* pp. 338 ff.

²⁾ Cf. note on *Messalina* v. 321.

Charitie (148 vv.) : the opening 14 vv., printed in the form of a heart, exhort to alms-giving, and declare that works alone show Christian faith. The rest of the poem continues to praise charity, with scriptural examples, and to condemn the over-eager pursuit of wealth.

Verses 39-60 repeat *The Divell* (original version) 137-158. It is interesting to note that « *Charitie* » (by which the poet chiefly understands alms-giving) receives much lengthier treatment than Faith or Hope : again Richards shows his special concern, already noted, for good works (cf. remarks above on *The Divell*, *Duke Richmonds Ghost*, and *Sinnes Impudence*).

Vertues Pyramid exactly reproduces the *Pyramid of Paradise* of C. P.

Chastitie and Lust (50 vv.) contrasts the beauty of chastity, and its happiness despite perpetual struggle, with the hideousness and the terrors of lust.

Midnights Meditation (80 vv.) again sounds very familiar notes in its reflections on the beauty of goodness, the folly of sin, the vanity of worldly possessions, and God's great mercy in withholding punishment.

The Divine Dream (36 vv.) : The poet describes a dream, in which he saw the scroll of truth wavering in the sky. At last, shining like the sun, it stood still —

« In which me thought I read, and read it ore
Peccair no majs ; that is, sinne no more
Written in Spanish... »

The novel element in the poem is exhausted here — with the poet's Spanish ; and the rest of it consists of the dreamer's prayers for help, that he may indeed sin no more.

The Divine Eccho betweene the good Angell, Man in despaire, And the Devill (86 verses, plus 23 « echoes » of one, two or three syllables) : a trick piece. Man speaks, and the angel or the devil answers him by echoing his last word or words : e. g. —

Man. Death to my Soule, how long must I in vaine
Heav'ns comfort crave ? yet endlessly remaine ¹⁾
Fetter'd in sinne ? breake Heart, give death free scope

¹⁾ Text wrongly inserts . after « remaine ».

And must I then despaire ? is there no hope ?

Angell. Hope.

Man. Amend I cannot, guifts of Grace I lacke
Like him that weares Heav'ns Livery on his backe
Hells favour in his bosom ; wretched I

Will Fate afford no present remedie !

Devill. Die ¹⁾.

Man despairs because he is so sinful. This Angel tells him to hope, but the Devil deepens his despair ; the Angel having 3 out of the first 5 « echoes », then remaining silent while the Devil speaks in the next 11. The Devil at last incites the Man to commit suicide ; but the Angel again intervenes, and in 7 « echoes » (uninterrupted by the Devil), restores him to hope, telling him to « Endeavour » and « Obey ».

The echo form of poem had of course long been familiar ²⁾. Richards' essay in it shows his power of fluent and ingenious versification.

Deaths Masqueing Night (102 vv.) deals with the vanity of worldly things, which all end with death : —

« With solemne Pace unseene, Death dos advance
His Sable shaft, to lead the World a dance.
Through Courts, th[r]ough Armyes, the worlds wide Hall,
Controul'd of none, Death is the end of all.

Wher's then ? the mighty Madam's stareing Pride ?
Oyles, Powders, Paintings ? All are laid aside.
Gold glittering Glory, Cloath of Silver silke,
Forgetfull Feasts, *their sinfull Baths of Milke*
(*When many a poore soule sterves, wanting the food*
Of their supurfluous out-side ³⁾) pamper'd blood

¹⁾ Vv. 1-5, 11-15.

²⁾ Cf. e. g. Sidney's *Philisides and Eccho*, in the *Arcadia*. Complete Poems of Sir Philip Sidney, ed. Grosart, 3 vols. 1877 : Vol. II, p. 221 ff.

³⁾ Suggested by Tourneur's *Revenger's Tragedy*, Act III (Dodsley-Hazlitt, X, p. 61, l. 2 ff.) : —

« Does every proud and selfaffecting dame
Camphire her face for this, and grieve her Maker
In sinful baths of milk, when many an infant starves
For her superfluous outside — all for this ? »

Tourneur's scene, in which Vendice is apostrophizing « the skull of his love », is obviously suggested by *Hamlet* V. i. ; and Richards also may have taken some of his touches from Shakespeare. Cf. especially *Hamlet* V. 1, 212 ff. : « Now get you to my lady's chamber, and tell her, let her paint an inch thick, to this favour she must come ». About the effect of this Shakespearean scene on other dramatists, cf. Koeppel, *Studien über Shakespeares Einfluss auf zeitgenössische Dramatiker*, pp. 4, 49.

Curles, Purles, Purfumes, Court complements, visites,
Hot-stirring Dishes, soule bewitching Minuts,
All Pompe on Earth, ambitions mad desires,
Revells and Lust-burnt Midnights unchast fires.
All are husht then ; Beggars and Kings, all must
Take a poore lodging in a bed of dust ». ¹⁾

These verses recall *The Vicious Courtier*. Verses 46-54, on the uncertainty of life, repeat *The Spirituall Seafight* vv. 139-141, 144-9 (omitted in the version in this volume, *The Soules Seafight*) ; and vv. 91-8 repeat, with alteration of the first verse, *C. P.* vv. 337-344. The poem repeats the familiar warning ²⁾ that death comes inevitably to all, and after it Heaven or Hell ; and exhorts the reader to remember this and to avoid sin. Matter and style fall entirely into line with those of the other sacred poems.

Here end the *Poems Sacred and Satyricall*. In the same volume follow *Latine Verses | Englished by this | Author as they erected in* ³⁾ | *the Hangings in the Upp̄er | House of Parliament* : seven epigrammatic couplets, translating Latin hexameters, on Pride, Lust, Gluttony, Wrath, Envy, Covetousnesse, Sloth.

Only two poems, each published as a single sheet, remain to be noticed.

Truth's | Acrostick | an | Elegie | upon | The most renowned, true, and unparalleled Worthy Knight, | Sir Paul Pindar Deceased. (No publisher named. Copy in B. M. Library, among *Single Papers*. Nov. 27th 1649 — Feb. 29th 1650). This acrostic (19 vv.) is in no way distinguished from those printed at the end of the 1632 volume. The initial letters of the verses form « Sir Paul Pindar Knight ».

Upon the | Declaration | of His Majesty | King Charles | Of England the Second. (« London, Printed for J. G. 1660. May 18 ». Copy in B. M. Library, among *Single Papers* Apr. 28th — Sept. 5th 1660. The poem is surmounted by the Royal arms, and enclosed by two ornamental pillars). A panegyric upon the

¹⁾ vv. 5-8 ; 25 ff. For the final couplet, cf. the Song in *Cymbeline*, IV. 2. 258 ff.

²⁾ Cf. remarks above on *The Divell*, p. 15.

³⁾ « erected » obviously needs emendation. I suspect that the printer misread the MS. title, which probably ran « are c[ri]tjcd ».

- v. 295 **A** » (correctly) « kin »
B » « kine »
v. 426 **A** » « Parthenope »
B » « Parthenop ¹⁾ »
III. v. 325 **A** punctuates (correctly),
B » ;
337 **A** wrongly repeats « 'gainst » (« 'gainst all ill
'gainst »)
B reads correctly (« 'gainst all ill »)
349 **A** reads « with Caius which Silius
quaint vallainie »
B » . (correctly) « with Caius Silius which
quaint vallainie »
V. 148 **A** reads « Hem's hem'd »
B » « Zownes Hem's hem'd »
Here **A** gives the better reading (v. note ad loc.)

Further, two slight differences occur which do not affect the text :

- Following II. 81, for the catchword (« She ») for the next page,
A has S (other letters blurred) **B**
V. 149, the speaker's initials (*St.* = *Stitch*) are printed
in **A** (correctly) in italics ;
in **B** in Roman type.

Finally, there are a few slight accidental differences : several words are quite clear in **A** which are blurred and scarcely legible in **B** (« desire », I. 284 ; « O » II. 361 ; « mawde » IV. 293) ; and **A** also preserves in several cases words or letters which in **B** have been cut away in binding (cf. note on title-page 2).

All the text-differences may be referred to corrections made during printing. It will be noticed that sometimes one text, sometimes the other, gives the corrected reading. This cannot be more clearly explained than in the words of Mr R. B. McKerrow, who treats the question in detail in the introduction to his reprint of *The Devil's Charter* ²⁾ : — « We have to fall back on

¹⁾ « Parthenop » is the better reading here, since the metre requires a tri-syllabic word.

²⁾ *Materialien zur Kunde des älteren Englischen Dramas*, Bd. VI. Louvain, 1904 (p. xiv f.).

the theory that corrections were made during the actual process of printing off, that the author, in some cases at least, exercised a certain amount of control over the actual progress of the work, dropping in upon the printer perhaps once or twice a day, looking over the sheets as they came fresh from the press and having such errors as he noticed corrected ».

In the case of *Messalina*, it seems pretty certain that the author exercised no such control (v. i., p. 58 f.), but we may suppose that the publisher, or perhaps the printer himself, looked through the sheets from time to time as Mr McKerrow suggests. Further « It cannot be supposed that in gathering the sheets of a book a binder would as a general rule pay attention to whether they were more or less corrected. He would take them, good or bad, as they came to hand ».

Thus, in *Messalina*, the more corrected sheets have been bound up in **A** in the case of ¹⁾ II. 76, 295, III. 325, V. 148 ; in **B** in the case of II. 426, III. 337, 349. (The accidental differences ²⁾, not affecting the text, need not detain us).

Our reprint reproduces text **B**, which on the above evidence is, though very slightly, the better. The variant readings are given in running notes at the foot of the page.

2. *Date of production.* *Messalina*, says the title-page, was acted by the «Company of his Majesties Revells» ³⁾. An amalgamation between the King's Revels Company and four members of the Queen's Servants took place in 1637, the company thus formed retaining the name « Queen's Servants » ⁴⁾. There is no proof

¹⁾ There is no connection between the cases — no two occur on pages folded from the same sheet. We therefore need not introduce the complications of the binders' pagination, but can name the page simply by the line in question.

²⁾ v. s. p. 28.

³⁾ Referred to by Mr Fleay (*op. cit.*) as the King's Revels Company; henceforth, for brevity, referred to as the K. R. Company.

⁴⁾ The theatres were closed, owing to the plague, on May 12th 1636. They reopened on Oct. 2nd 1637; and under this date, Herbert, the Master of the Revels, writes « I disposed of Perkins, Sumner, Sherlock and Turner to Salisbury Court, and joined them with the best of that company ». (Fleay, *Chron. Hist. of London Stage*, p. 360). Before the closing of the theatres the players named had been members of the Queen's Servants, and Salisbury Court the theatre of the K. R. Company. (Fleay, *loc. cit.*; also p. 329 f.)

that the K. R. Company continued to exist after this date, but the following facts make it appear probable.

T. Rawlins' tragedy *The Rebellion* (published 1639) was played by the K. R. Company. Its date of production is uncertain; but if we accept the date suggested (though with a query) by the *D. N. B.* for Rawlins' birth (1620), a date after Oct. 1637 seems more probable for the play than one before the closing of the theatres in 1636.

Mr Fleay, who inclines to the later date for *The Rebellion*, argues further « Frere published *Messalina*, Rawlins' *Rebellion* and Nabbes' *Unfortunate Mother* (not acted) all in this year [1639]. The inference is that the King's Revels Company dissolved at Michaelmas 1639 » ¹).

This is too definite. The reference to Nabbes' *Unfortunate Mother* proves nothing, since the play was written, not for the K. R. Company, but for Beeston's Boys ²). The publication of the two other plays at about the same time proves very little; no more than that their value as stage novelties was gone. It is on the whole probable that, had they been played before the closing of the theatres, and had the company to which they belonged ceased to exist in 1637, they would have reached the press earlier than the autumn of 1639; but very little weight can be attached to this evidence.

Very much more important is the inclusion in the cast for *Messalina* of Christopher Goad, previously a member of the Queen's Servants. Here again no final proof can be given; but the evidence tends strongly to show that Goad remained with the Queen's Servants until 1636, and joined the K. R. Company at the time of the rearrangement in 1637 ³).

All the evidence, though none of it is conclusive, tends in the same direction; and we therefore agree with Mr Fleay that *Messalina* probably dates after the reopening of the theatres, Oct. 2nd 1637. The final limit is given by its entry on the Stationers' Register, on Oct. 3rd 1639.

3. *Place of production.* It might be urged, against the supposition

¹) *Biog. Chron. of Eng. Drama*, II. p. 169.

²) *ibid.* II. p. 121.

³) For details v. notes (The Actors Names : *Christopher Goad*).

that the K. R. Company continued to exist after 1637, that apparently there was no theatre open to them. Salisbury Court, the theatre where the K. R. Company in its earlier form had played, was occupied by the reconstituted Queen's Company; while the Cockpit, where the latter had played, was kept by Beeston for his newly-formed Boys' Company ¹).

At this time, however, a new company appears at the Fortune theatre, mentioned by Herbert simply as « the Fortune Company » ²). Mr Fleay names them « the Outsiders », and identifies them with the earlier Red Bull Company ³). For this identification I can find no evidence; and I think it probable that « the Fortune company » is no other than our K. R. Company, which may possibly have included, in addition to the remnants of the old K. R. and Queen's Companies, some members of the old Red Bull company. The theatres had been closed for seventeen months, and it is very probable that during this time the companies lost a few members. Hence, perhaps, the reorganisation of the Queen's Company, to bring it again to full strength. The unprivileged company at the Red Bull, never especially successful ⁴), would probably suffer particularly; any members who could find other occupation would do so. It is at least more plausible to suppose the cessation of the independent existence of the Red Bull company than that of the much better established K. R. company.

Only four Revels men would be thrown out by the rearrangement at Salisbury Court. Of the old Queen's Servants, outside the four « disposed to Salisbury Court » ⁵), Hugh Clark joined the King's Company ⁶). Probably some of the other old Queen's Servants — certainly Christopher Goad — joined the

¹) Fleay, *Chron. Hist.*, p. 359 f. Mr Fleay notes further that Beeston's Boys were also known as the « King's and Queen's » players.

Mr Fleay withdraws the suggestion made here (p. 360) — that the K. R. Company broke soon after 1636, May 10 — in his *Biog. Chron.* II. p. 169.

²) Fleay, *Chron. Hist.* p. 361 (Herbert's entry for 1640, Apr. 12). Cf. *ib.* p. 359.

³) *Chron. Hist.* p. 353 f. It should be noted that in these remarks Mr Fleay is assuming the cessation of the K. R. Company about 1636 (v. s. note 1). With his withdrawal of that assumption, these suggestions also lose weight. Maas, *Aussere Geschichte der Englischen Theatertruppen*, adds nothing here to Fleay's suggestions.

⁴) Cf. Fleay, *Chron. Hist.* pp. 313, 322, 332; Maas, *op. cit.* p. 141.

⁵) v. p. 29 note 4.

⁶) Fleay, *Chron. Hist.* pp. 353, 371.

four old K. R. men, possibly with the inclusion of a remnant of the old Red Bull company also ; and the new company thus built up, keeping the established name of the K. R. company, took over the Fortune Theatre.

The fact that Herbert refers (Apr. 12th 1640) to the players at the Fortune theatre simply as « the Fortune company » affords no evidence against our suggestion ; for in 1635 and 1635-6, when no doubt exists as to the right of the K. R. company to their title, they are mentioned in the records of Court performances simply as « the Salisbury Court players » ¹⁾, and again in Herbert's Diary (Feb. 16th 1634-5) as « the players in Salisbury Court » ²⁾. It was, indeed, by no means uncommon to name a company by its theatre, as an alternative to its patron-name ³⁾.

Poverty of evidence, especially of lists of actors ⁴⁾, makes it impossible to test these theories about the history of the K. R. Company, so they are advanced with all diffidence. The main point is however clear. We find here no evidence conflicting with the date suggested for *Messalina* in the previous section ; the possible objection that no theatre was open to the K. R. Company after 1637 does not hold. It appears probable that they occupied the Fortune Theatre ; and thus the stage depicted on the title-page of our play may be that of the Fortune Theatre.

4. *Sources.* (a) *Latin.* Richards professes the sources of his tragedy in the Epistle Dedicatory : « *Imperatricis libido periculosissima est*, witnesse Valeria Messalina, her Lust and Rule over doating Majestie. This testified by Romes Historians (Tacitus, Suetonius, Pliny, Plutarch and Juvenall) »... ⁵⁾.

Again in the Prologue he declares

« the play is new,
And by Romes fam'd Historians confirm'd true ».

A passage from Juvenal's tenth Satire stands as motto on the

¹⁾ Fleay, *Chron. Hist.* p. 317.

²⁾ Maas, *op. cit.* p. 144.

³⁾ Cf. Maas, *op. cit.* 131 ff. passim.

⁴⁾ Maas (*op. cit.* pp. vi, x) promises a list of actors, to appear in the second volume of his work. Possibly this may afford further evidence on our problem.

⁵⁾ v. i., reprint of text, etc.

title-page. Further, Richards gives, in footnotes, copious quotations from his authorities ¹⁾ : thirteen from Tacitus, one from Pliny and one from Suetonius. His quotations naturally do not indicate the full extent of his debt, and we shall therefore quote in full the passages in Tacitus, Suetonius, Pliny and Juvenal most important for the study of Richards' treatment, printing in italics the parts quoted by Richards ²⁾.

Tacitus. The chief source of the play is the account of the connection between Messalina and Silius given by Tacitus, *Annales*, Lib. XI.

Cap 12... [Messalina] novo et furori proximo amore distinebatur. nam in C. Silium, iuventutis Romanae pulcherrimum, ita exarserat, ut Iuniam Silanam, nobilem feminam, matrimonio eius exturbaret vacuoque adultero peteretur ³⁾. neque Silius flagitii aut periculi nescius erat : sed certo, si abnueret, exitio et non nulla fallend spe, simul magnis praemiis, opperiri futura et praesentibus frui pro solacio habebat ⁴⁾. illa non furtim, sed multo comitatu ventitare domum, egressibus adhaerescere, largiri opes, honores, postremo, velut translata iam fortuna, servi liberti paratus principis apud adulterum visebantur.

Cap. 26. Iam Messalina facilitate adulteriorum in fastidium versa ad incognitas libidines profuebat, cum abrumpi dissimulationem etiam Silius, sive fatali vaecordia an imminentium periculorum remedium ipsa pericula ratus, urgebat : quippe non eo ventum, ut senectam principis opperirentur. insontibus innoxia consilia, flagitiis manifestis subsidium ab audacia petendum. adesse conscios paria metuentes. se caelibem, orbem, nuptiis

¹⁾ Richards' purpose in quoting so extensively was probably to disarm the criticism that the play was immoral, by proving its fidelity to historical authority. The Epistle Dedicatory, as noted, joins this justification with the plea of his moral intention. The phrasing of the Epistle, and also of Jordan's commendatory verses, rather suggests that the play on the stage had not escaped censure of its subject.

Dr. A. W. Ward says « ...the author... is pedantic enough to introduce a long quotation from [Juvenal's] Sixth Satire in the original Latin » (*History of Eng. Dram. Lit.* III. p. 162). This is a mistake.

²⁾ Richard's quotations occur as follows :

Tacitus : Footnotes on I. 373 ; II. 183, 236, 486 ;
III. 238 ; IV. 6, 135, 146 ;
V. 69, 94, 434, 518, 533.

Suetonius : Footnote on IV. 19.

Pliny : » » I. 98.

Juvenal : Motto on titlepage.

For changes and misprints, v. notes ad loc. For editions used in our quotations v. index of works consulted.

³⁾ Quoted as footnote on II. 183.

⁴⁾ Quoted as footnote on II. 486.

et adoptando Britannico paratum. mansuram eandem Messalinae potentiam, addita securitate, si praeventirent Claudium, ut insidiis incautum, ita irae properum. segniter eae voces acceptae, non amore in maritum, sed ne Silius summa adeptus sperneret adulteram scelusque inter ancipitia probatum veris mox pretiis aestimaret. *nomen tamen matrimonii concupivit ob magnitudinem infamiae, cuius apud prodigos novissima voluptas est* ¹⁾. nec ultra exspectato quam dum sacrificii gratia Claudius Ostiam proficisceretur, cuncta nuptiarum sollemnia celebrat.

Cap. 27. Haud sum ignarus fabulosum visum iri tantum ullis mortalium securitatis fuisse in civitate omnium gnara et nihil reticente, nedum consulem designatum cum uxore principis, praedicta die, adhibitis qui obsignarent, velut suscipiendorum liberorum causa convenisse, atque illam audisse auspicum verba, subisse, sacrificasse apud deos; discubitu inter convivas, oscula complexus, noctem denique actam licentia coniugali, sed *nihil compositum miraculi causa* ²⁾, verum audita scriptaque senioribus tradam.

Cap. 28. Igitur domus principis inhorruerat, maximeque quos penes potentia et, si res verterentur, formido, non iam secretis colloquiis, sed aperte fremere, dum histrio cubiculum principis insultaverit, dedecus quidem inlatum, sed excidium procul afuisse: nunc iuvenem nobilem dignitate formae vi mentis ac propinquo consulatu maiorem ad spem adcingi; nec enim occultum, quid post tale matrimonium superesset. *subibat sine dubio metus reputantes hebetem Claudium et uxori devinctum* ³⁾ *multasque mortes iussu Messalinae patratas* ⁴⁾: rursus ipsa facilitas imperatoris fiduciam dabat, si atrocitate criminis praevaluissent, posse opprimi damnatam ante quam ream; sed in eo discrimen verti, si defensio audiretur, utque clausae aures etiam confitenti forent.

Cap. 29. Ac primo Callistus.... et... Narcissus flagrantissimaque eo in tempore gratia Pallas agitavere, num Messalinam secretis minis depellerent amore Sili, cuncta alia dissimulantes. dein metu, ne ad perniciem ultro traherentur, desistunt ⁵⁾, Pallas per ignaviam. Callistus prioris quoque regiae peritus et potentiam cautis quam acribus consiliis tutius haberi: perstitit Narcissus, set solum id immutans, ne quo sermone praesciam criminis et accusatoris faceret: ipse ad occasiones intentus, longa apud Ostiam Caesaris mora, duas paelices, quarum is corpori maxime insueverat, largitione ac promissis et uxore deiecta plus potentiae ostendendo perpulit delationem subire.

Cap. 30. Exin Calpurnia (id paelici nomen), ubi datum secretum, genibus Caesaris provoluta nupsisse Messalinam Silio exclamat: simul Cleopatram, quae id opperiens adstabat, an comperisset interrogat, atque illa adnuente cieri Narcissum postulat. is veniam in praeteritum petens, quod ei Vettios, Plautios dissimulavisset, sed nunc adulteria obiecturum ait, nedum domum servitia et ceteros fortunae paratus reposceret. frueretur immo his, set redderet uxorem rumperetque tabulas nuptiales. « an discidium » inquit « tuum nosti? nam matrimonium Sili vidit populus et senatus et miles; ac ni propere agis, tenet urbem maritus ».

¹⁾ Quoted as footnote on II. 236.

²⁾ Quoted as footnote on IV. 6.

³⁾ Quoted as footnote on IV. 135.

⁴⁾ Quoted as footnote on V. 99.

⁵⁾ Quoted as footnote on IV. 146.

Cap. 31. Tum potissimum [quemque] amicorum vocat, primumque rei frumentariae praefectum Turranium, post Lusium Getam praetorianis inpositum percontatur. quis latentibus certatim ceteri circumstrepunt; iret in castra, firmaret praetorias cohortes, securitati ante quam vindictae consuleret. satis constat eo pavore offusum Claudium, ut identidem interrogaret, an ipse imperii potens, an Silius privatus esset. at Messalina non alias solutior luxu, adulto autumno simulacrum vindemiae per domum celebrabat. urgueri prela, fluere lacus; et feminae pellibus accinctae adsultabant ut sacrificantes vel insanientes Bacchae; ipsa crine fluxo thyrsus quatiens iuxtaque Silius hedera vinctus, gerere cothurnos, iacere caput, strepente circum procaci choro. ferunt Vettium Valentem lascivia in praealtam arborem conisum, interrogantibus quid aspiceret, respondisse tempestatem ab Ostia atrocem. sive coeperat ea species, seu forte lapsa vox in praesagium vertit.

Cap. 32. Non rumor interea, sed undique nuntii incedunt, qui gnara Claudio cuncta et venire promptum ultioni adferrent. igitur Messalina Lucullianos in hortos, Silius dissimulando metu ad munia fori digrediuntur. ceteris passim dilabentibus adfuere centuriones, inditaeque sunt vincla, ut quis reperiebatur in publico aut per latebras. Messalina tamen, quamquam res adversae consilium eximerent, ire obviam et aspicere a marito, quod saepe subsidium habuerat, haud segniter intendit, misitque ut Britannicus et Octavia in complexum patris pergerent. et Vibidiam, virginum Vestalium vetustissimam, oravit pontificis maximi aures adire, clementiam expetere...

Cap. 33. *Trepidabatur nihilo minus a Caesare: quippe Getae praetorii praefecto haud satis fidebant, ad honesta seu prava iuxta levi*¹⁾. ergo Narcissus, adsumptis quibus idem metus, non aliam spem incolumitatis Caesaris adfirmat, quam si ius militum uno illo die in aliquem libertorum transferret, seque offert suscepturum...

Cap. 34. ...iam erat in aspectu Messalina clamitabatque audiret Octaviae et Britannici matrem, cum obstrepere accusator, Silius et nuptias referens; simul codicillos libidinum indices tradidit, quis visus Caesaris averteret. nec multo post urbem ingredienti offerebantur communes liberi, nisi Narcissus amoveri eos iussisset. Vibidiam depellere nequivit, quin multa cum invidia flagitaret, ne indefensa coniunx exitio daretur. igitur auditurum principem et fore diluendi criminis facultatem respondit: iret interim virgo et sacra capesseret.

Cap. 35. ...continuis dehinc cohortium clamor nomina reorum et poenas flagitantium; admotusque Silius tribunali non defensionem, non moras temptavit, precatus ut mors adceleraretur. eadem constantia et inlustres equites Romani cupidi maturaec necis fuerunt. Titium Proculum, custodem a Silio Messalinae datum et indicium offerentem, Vettium Valentem confessum et Pompeium Urbicum ac Saufeium Trogum ex consociis tradi ad supplicium iubet. Decrius quoque Calpurnianus vigilum praefectus, Sulpicius Rufus Iudi procurator, Iuncus Vergilianus senator eadem poena adfecti.

Cap. 36. Solus Mnester cunctationem attulit, dilaniata veste clamitans aspiceret verberum notas, reminisceretur vocis, qua se obnoxium iussis

¹⁾ Quoted as footnote on V. 69.

Messalinae dedisset : *aliis largitione aut spei magnitudine, sibi ex necessitate culpam* ¹⁾; nec cuiquam ante percundum fuisse, si Silius rerum poteretur. commotum his et primum ad misericordiam Caesarem perpulere liberti, ne tot inlustribus viris interfectis histrioni consuleretur : sponte an coactus tam magna peccavisset, nihil referre, *ne Trauli quidem Montani equitis Romani defensio recepta est, is modesta inventa, sed corpore insigni, accitus ultro noctemque intra unam a Messalina proturbatus erat, paribus lascivus ad cupidinem et fastidia* ²⁾.

Cap. 37. Interim Messalina Lucullianis in hortis prolatare vitam, componere preces, nonnulla spe et aliquando ira : tantum inter extrema superbiae gerebat, *ac ni caedem eius Narcissus proferavisset, verterat perniciem in accusatorem* ³⁾, nam Claudius domum regressus et tempestivis epulis delentus, ubi vino incaluit, iri iubet nuntiarique miserae (hoc enim verbo usum ferunt) dicendam ad causam postero die adesset. quod ubi auditum et languescere ira, redire amor ac, si cunctarentur, propinqua nox et uxorii cubiculi memoria timebantur, prorumpit Narcissus denuntiatque centurionibus et tribuno, qui aderat, exsequi caedem ; ita imperatorem iubere, custos et exactor e libertis Euodus datur, isque raptim in hortos praegressus repperit fusam humi, adsidente matre *Lepida, quae florenti filiae haud concors supremis eius necessitatibus ad miserationem evicta erat* ⁴⁾ suadebatque ne percussorem opprimeretur : transisse vitam neque aliud quam morti decus quaerendum, sed animo per libidines corrupto nihil honestum inerat ; lacrimaeque et questus inriti ducebantur, cum impetu venientium pulsae fores adstititque tribunus per silentium, at libertus increpans multis et servilibus probris.

Cap. 38. Tunc primum fortunam suam introspectit ferrumque accepit, *quod frustra iugulo aut pectori per trepidationem admoveens ictu tribuni transigitur* ⁵⁾, corpus matri concessum, nuntiatumque Claudio epulanti perisse Messalinam, non distincto sua an aliena manu, nec ille quaesivit, poposcitque poculum et solita convivio celebravit, ne secutis quidem diebus odii gaudii, irae tristitiae, ullius denique humani adfectus signa dedit, non cum laetantes accusatores aspiceret, non cum filios maerentes.

Tacitus bears further testimony to Messalina's cruelty and lewdness in Lib. XI. 1-3 ; 12 ; XII. 7 ; XIII. 43. Silius is mentioned also in XI. 5, 6, as resisting the extortioner Suillius. Richards' presentation of the characters harmonises with these passages, though not directly utilising the incidents. On the other hand he ignores absolutely the references, in other connections, to Lepida and Silana, which present their characters in a very unfavourable light ⁶⁾.

Suetonius refers four times to this series of incidents. His first passage (*Tib. Claudius et Drusus*, XXVI) adds nothing to

¹⁾ Quoted as footnote on I. 374.

²⁾ Quoted as footnote on III. 238.

³⁾ Quoted as footnote on V. 434.

⁴⁾ Quoted as footnote on V. 518.

⁵⁾ Quoted as footnote on V. 533.

⁶⁾ v. pp. 46, 49 f.

Tacitus' account, merely stating that Messalina married Silius and was therefore put to death by Claudius. The second passage is quoted by Richards :

« ...Nam illud omnem fidem excesserit, quod nuptiis, quas Messalina cum adultero Silio fecerat, tabellas dotis et ipse consignaverit ; inductus, quasi de industria simular-entur, ad avertendum transferendumque periculum, quod imminere ipsi per quaedam ostenta portenderetur » ¹⁾).

In chapter XXXVI, Suetonius emphasises Claudius' coward-ice, and states that fear of losing the Empire, not a sense of his dishonour through Messalina's conduct, made him smother his love for her.

The fourth reference ²⁾, showing the indifference of Claudius to Messalina's death, is ignored by Richards, like the passage in Tacitus ³⁾ which it corroborates.

Pliny supplies only the incident of Messalina's successful match with a prostitute in her trade :

« ...Messalina Claudii Caesaris coniunx regalem existumans palmam elegit in id certamen nobilissimam e prostitutis ancillam mercenariae stipis, eamque nocte ac die superavit quinto atque vicesimo concubitu » ⁴⁾).

Juvenal. From Juvenal's sixth satire ⁵⁾ Richards takes the statement that Messalina frequented a brothel ; but he changes the details altogether.

Further, Richards follows Juvenal in his distribution of the blame for the marriage between Messalina and Silius. Silius appears altogether as the victim ; himself the best of the patricians, destroyed through Messalina.

« ...elige quidnam
suadendum esse putes cui nubere Caesaris uxor
destinat. optimus hic et formosissimus idem
gentis patriciae rapitur miser exstinguendus
Messalinae oculis ⁶⁾. dudum sedet illa parato
flammeolo, Tyriusque palam genialis in hortis

¹⁾ Tib. Claudius Drusus, XXIX. Quoted as footnote on IV. 19.

²⁾ *ibid.*, XXXIX.

³⁾ Ann. Lib. XI cap. 38 ad fin.

⁴⁾ Nat. Hist. Lib. X. § 172. Quoted as footnote on I. 98. Pliny's only other references to Messalina are in Nat. Hist. Lib. XXIX, Cap. 1, §§ 8, 20 — incidental references to her adultery.

⁵⁾ vv. 115-132. Richards had already borrowed some touches from this passage in *The Vicious Courtier* (v. p. 11).

⁶⁾ Quoted as motto on the title-page.

sternitur, et ritu decies centena dabuntur
antiquo, veniet cum signatoribus auspex.
hæc tu secreta et paucis commissa putabas.
non nisi legitime vult nubere. quid placeat, dic;
ni parere velis, pereundum erit ante lucernas;
si scelus admittas, dabitur mora parvula, dum res
nota urbi et populo contingit principis aures.
dedecus ille domus sciet ultimus. interea tu
obsequere imperis, si tanti vita dierum
paucorum. quidquid melius leviusque putaris,
præbenda est gladio pulchra hæc et candida cervix » ¹⁾).

It is rather remarkable that Richards does not cite this passage in full as authority for his contradiction of Tacitus, whose account he follows so closely in most respects. Tacitus states ²⁾ that it is Silius who proposes marriage, and that Messalina at first receives the proposal coldly. Richards combines the two versions very skilfully. Tacitus represents Silius as becoming Messalina's paramour because death is the sure alternative ³⁾. Richards transfers the statement of coercion, making the threat of death explicit and immediate, to the scene in which Messalina commands Silius to kill his wife. Messalina's proposal of marriage then follows naturally, explaining her murderous instructions and offering Silius the reward which (as in Tacitus' version) he ardently desires ⁴⁾.

Further traces of the influence of Juvenal, especially of Sat. VI., are treated in the notes ⁵⁾.

Richards names *Plutarch* also as testifying to Messalina's « Lust and Rule over doating Majestie » ⁶⁾.

This is a mere flourish, to strengthen his historical defence against criticism. Plutarch does not mention Messalina.

A later Græco-Roman historian, on the other hand, who gives important confirmation of Messalina's character, is not adduced: Cassius Dio, who gives instances of Messalina's pitiless cruelty and corruption (LX. 8, 5; 15, 5; 16, 2; 18, 3-4; 27, 4; 31, 2) and of her lust (LX. 18, 1). Presumably Richards was unacquainted with Dio's work.

¹⁾ Sat. X, ll. 329-345.

²⁾ Ann. XI. 26.

³⁾ *ibid.* XI. 12.

⁴⁾ Act II., 178 ff.

⁵⁾ Cf. remarks on Juvenal's influence on Richards' satirical poems, pp. 7, 11.

⁶⁾ *Epistle Dedicatory*.

It is impossible to say whether the abundance of violent deaths on the stage, the use of the supernatural, the unvarying fortitude with which the Empress's favourites meet death, and the inflated rhetoric of the style, are due to a knowledge of Seneca, or simply to the widespread influence of Seneca in earlier English tragedy ¹⁾. Seneca supplies no material; his references to Messalina (in the tragedy *Octavia*) are all incidental, and contain nothing that is not to be found in Tacitus. The Latin line which opens our play, attributed to Seneca ²⁾, is not a quotation from him, though the thought is familiar in his work as in that of several other Latin authors ³⁾. Nor does the introduction of Mela, Seneca's brother, with his philosophical disquisitions, give us any material directly traceable to Seneca. One phrase in our play is indeed based on him; but the suggestion probably reached Richards at second hand ⁴⁾.

To sum up: while there is nothing improbable in the suggestion that Richards was acquainted with Seneca's work, there is no evidence, either in matter or phrase, which is not perfectly explicable by the transmitted influence of the English Senecan tradition ⁵⁾.

(b). *Suggestions from English predecessors.* *Messalina* further bears traces of the influence of some of Richards' English predecessors; especially, as might be expected, of Shakespeare,

Shakespeare. The play which exercised most influence on *Messalina* is *Macbeth*. The debt, as regards the metre, of the songs of the Furies and of the Spirits in *Messalina* (II. 129 ff., V. 441 ff.) to the witch-scenes in *Macbeth*, is indicated below, p. 62.

It seems very probable that not only the metre, but the whole

¹⁾ Cf. Cunliffe, *The Influence of Seneca on Elizabethan Tragedy*, London, 1893; pp. 39-43, 44-6, 28 f., 18 f., respectively for the four points in the order named.

²⁾ « *Sola virtus vera nobilitas*.

So speakes our times best Tutor Seneca » — I. 1, 3.

³⁾ v. note ad loc.

⁴⁾ v. V. 166 f. and note.

⁵⁾ For discussion of this influence, v. Cunliffe, *op. cit.*

conception of these supernatural passages, was suggested by *Macbeth*. As the riddling prophecy of the witches drives Macbeth to his crime, and, later, the visions shown to him by them prelude his doom, so — though their interventions are mere incidents instead of vital moments — the Furies rouse in *Messalina* « a plurisy of lust », and the Spirits' « Song of Despaire » prepares her for her fate.

The witch-scenes, further, furnished the model for the division of the songs — the Furies' trio and the Spirits' duet — each singer in turn taking a passage. The immediate hint for the use of a musical accompaniment to the latter (*Messalina* V. 441 ff.) may have been given by the stage direction following *Macbeth* IV. 1. 43 : « Music and a song, « Black Spirits » etc. » (cf. also *Macb.* III. 33) ; and the « anticke » danced by the Furies (*Mess.* II. 152) follows the stage direction for *Macb.* IV. 1. 132 : « Music. The Witches dance, and then vanish with Hecate ». The thunder accompanying the appearance of the ghosts to Saufellus (*Mess.* V. 134 ff.) may have been suggested by the thunder, thrice repeated as the apparitions confront Macbeth (IV. 1.), though of course the device was common property.

In addition to these supernatural scenes must be named the scene between Mela and Montanus (*Mess.* III. 1 ff.), which recalls *Macb.* IV. 3, where Malcolm, fearing treachery, at first dissimulates to Macduff, and then reveals his true feelings, and claims Macduff's friendship. Further, Menester's comparison of man's life to a player's role (*Mess.* V. 321 ff.) may have been suggested by *Macb.* V. 5. 24 ff., though more probably by *The Merchant of Venice* I. 1. 77 ff. Finally, phrasal reminiscence from *Macbeth* occurs distinctly in *Mess.* V. 275, and probably again, distorted, in II. 275 (v. notes).

The Brothel scenes in *Messalina* very naturally show the influence of the similar scenes in *Pericles* (v. note on *Mess.* I. 173 ff.) ; and a phrasal reminiscence from the same play is noted at V. 293.

Richard III. (V. 3.) probably gave the hint for the appearance to *Messalina* of the ghosts of all her victims ; a probability strengthened by the apparent connection between the phrase « Despair, and die » repeated by nine of the ghosts in *Rich. III.*,

and used with slight variations by the remaining two also, and the Spirits' « Song of Despaire » to Messalina. A possible slight phrasal reminiscence is noted at V. 106.

A few phrases reminiscent of *Hamlet* occur, of which the most important are found in III. 53 ff. (v. note). The others are discussed in the notes on II. 297, III. 22, 81, 189. For phrases and thoughts suggested by other plays of Shakespeare, see notes on I. 45, IV. 110, V. 321, 529.

Tourneur. Of other influences traceable in *Messalina*, the clearest is that of Tourneur's *Revenger's Tragedy*, noted at IV. 124, 237, V. 23-4, 153, 225. Richards had previously borrowed from this play in *The Celestiall Publican* ¹⁾ and *Deaths Masqueing Night* ²⁾.

Marston. *The Dutch Courtezan* may very well have furnished hints for three situations in *Messalina*. At the opening of Marston's play, Malheureux appears as virtuous, and tries to dissuade his friend Freevill from vice ³⁾. The two go together to a brothel, Malheureux still wrapped in his virtue; and then Malheureux is overcome by Franceschina's charms ⁴⁾. Compare with this the opening scenes of *Messalina* ⁵⁾, showing the seduction of Silius in steps exactly corresponding.

Again, Franceschina makes Malheureux promise to murder Freevill ⁶⁾: compare with this Messalina's demand that Silius shall murder Silana ⁷⁾.

Malheureux recoils from the murder, and confesses to Freevill, who goes into hiding so that Franceschina may believe him killed ⁸⁾. Silius, though indeed intending the crime, which Malheureux never does, similarly evades his promise, while satisfying the Empress ⁹⁾. All these events in *Messalina* are pure

¹⁾ v. 485 : cf. p. 5 note 2.

²⁾ vv. 25 ff. cf. p. 25 note 3.

³⁾ D. C., I. i. 64 ff. (*Works of John Marston*, ed. A. H. Bullen, London, 1887, Vol. II).

⁴⁾ D. C. I. 2. 181 ff.

⁵⁾ *Mess.* I. 1 ff., 188 ff.

⁶⁾ D. C. II. 2. 149 ff.

⁷⁾ *Mess.* II. 178 ff.

⁸⁾ D. C. III. 1. 227 ff.

⁹⁾ *Mess.* II. 394 ff.

additions to the material Richards drew from his Latin sources ¹⁾, and were very probably suggested to him, as apt developments perfectly harmonising with his conception of his story, by *The Dutch Courtesan*. The probability is increased by Richards' use of a quotation ²⁾ and a not very common classical allusion ³⁾, both of which occur in similar settings in Marston's play.

Kyd's *Spanish Tragedie* was certainly known to Richards, as is proved by his imitation of a passage therefrom in *The Divell* ⁴⁾. Probable slight traces of its influence on our play are noted at II. 390, V. 164, 167.

(c) *Passages from Richards' non-dramatic work*: Richards works into *Messalina* scraps from his moral and satirical poems, sometimes quoting with little or no alteration, sometimes only recalling phrases or ideas. These borrowings are generally sententious passages of general application. The actual quotations occur in I. 215-6; II. 345-6; III. 33-5, 339-40; IV. 286-90, 298-9; V. 316-7, 321-4. For sources and remarks, v. notes.

5. *Richards' development of his material*. The first fact made clear by a comparison of the play with the account of its main incidents given by Tacitus, is that Richards consistently emphasises and heightens the wickedness of Messalina.

(I). This appears in her actions.

(a). Richards adds, from Pliny, the incident of her prostitution to twenty-five men in the space of a day and a night; and refers to it repeatedly.

(b). Richards adds the murder, at Messalina's command, of the three Roman dames, because of their unflinching chastity. (II. 14 ff.). This is pure invention. At a later reference to it (V. 89) a passage from Tacitus is quoted as authority: « ...Multas mortes iussu Messalinae patratas... » (XI. 28); but the deaths here recalled are those caused through false

¹⁾ Cf. p. 43 f.

²⁾ v. *Messalina* II. 531, and note.

³⁾ v. *Messalina* III. 289, and note.

⁴⁾ v. s. p. 13.

accusations (XI. 1-3; XIII. 43; cf. Dio, *loc. cit.* p. 38). The historical records indeed paint Messalina as vilely lewd and cruel; but never suggest that she went to the length of murder from mere spite against chastity.

(c). Where Tacitus records simply that Messalina forces Silius to divorce his wife (XI. 12), Richards represents her as insisting on the wife's death ¹⁾, and threatening Silius himself with instant death at her own hands if he refuse to commit the murder (II. 161 ff.). And though Silius does not fulfil his promise, the death of the virtuous Silana stands ultimately against Messalina.

(d). Richards follows Juvenal, in contradiction of his chief authority Tacitus, in making the proposal of marriage come from Messalina, who thus incurs the whole active blame for the deed ²⁾.

(e). The attempted rape of the virgins ³⁾ at her command is wholly an addition by Richards, without foundation in any of his authorities.

II. Messalina's own speeches also emphasise her wickedness, revealing her not only as personally depraved, but as a veritable apostle of lust ⁴⁾.

III. Messalina's wickedness is heightened by changes in the characters of the other persons represented.

(a). *Silius*, though appearing first in a favourable light in the *Annales* (resisting the accuser Suillius, XI. 5), is represented by Tacitus as ready to make the best of his connection with Messalina when it has once been thrust upon him; himself proposing the marriage which is their crowning and fatal crime. Richards, accepting the general outline, borrows Juvenal's conception to colour and modify it; emphasising first Silius' virtue before his seduction by Messalina, and then exhibiting him as the victim of infatuation. Elements of good are still active in him (II. 394 ff.), but, more even than fear or ambition, the passion which Messalina has succeeded in awakening

¹⁾ Possibly suggested by Marston's *Dutch Courtesan*. Cf. p. 41.

²⁾ Cf. p. 37 f.

³⁾ IV. 268 ff., V. 107 ff.

⁴⁾ e. g. I. 267-79, II. 112 ff., 238-45.

makes him powerless against her will. While the impression of mere abject helplessness in Silius given by Juvenal's lines is avoided, Richards retains and strengthens the elements mitigating his guilt and aggravating Messalina's. Silius appears, at the very opening of the play, as a virtuous philosopher, deploring the ill customs of the times, and vowing himself to the sole pursuit of virtue (I. 1-17). It is through his moral zeal and desire to reform his friends, that Valens and Proculus are able to bring him to the brothel (I. 18 ff.) as the Empress desires. There, in the dialogue before her appearance, Silius' hatred of lust finds expression in denunciations exactly in the tone of Richards' own (I. 188 ff., cf. satirical poems, p. 7 ff.). Even when the Empress appears and declares her love, Silius still seeks to resist temptation, though he recognises his danger (I. 241 ff.) ; and the Empress, knowing him to be « a fayling, pure, precise one », has prepared means to overcome his will. He is drugged, and so brought to her embraces with no power to resist (I. 252 ff.). Silius' guilt in the first step is thus reduced to a negligible minimum, the weakness of conscious consent through fear being removed.

Messalina's demand for the murder of Silana is, as already noted ¹⁾, entirely Richards' addition. It tends to blacken the character of Silius, as well as that of Messalina ; for though he at first resists, he yields to Messalina's insistence. It is however his mad infatuation about her, not her threat, that makes him consent (II. 186 ff.) ; and the next scene (II. 394 ff.) shows him again in a more favourable light. He is torn between good motives and bad ; feels all the beauty of virtue, yet cannot break loose from his passion for Messalina. He disobeys her command, despite the danger, and declares his joy at doing so and his reverence for Silana's constancy :

« I doe love

Those vertues in another, though I want
The like performance ; nor shall my high ayme
Rais'd on advancements top do me more good
Than th' enjoying free from the act of blood.

.

Never was man so infinitely

¹⁾ v. p. 43.

Bewicht ; charm'd and enchanted as is *Caius*
Silius, to leave a constant wife... »

(II. 525-9, 532-3).

His desertion of Silana is blamed upon Fate (II. 513-4, 545); and the feeling is conveyed that, with the virtuous Silana, Silius would display noble qualities; that he is depraved by Messalina. Further, Silius gains respect from Silana's devotion to him; while an additional excuse is furnished for him, as for all the adulterers and followers of Messalina, in the seductive beauty constantly attributed to the Empress. None of Richards' authorities explicitly declares that Messalina is beautiful ¹⁾, though of course this is a very natural inference. Richards however insists on it again and again ²⁾.

Finally, some justification is given for Silius' attempt on the crown by the recollection of his father's wrongs, which he wishes to avenge ³⁾; and, as might be expected, Tacitus' description of his firm death is developed, so that at the last he appears again a firm-minded and noble Roman ⁴⁾.

(b). Messalina's wickedness is similarly made the blacker by careful whitewashing of *Claudius*. Richards accepts and emphasises the conception, common to Tacitus, Suetonius and Juvenal, that Claudius was utterly infatuated about Messalina, and thus duped by her; but though in the play he remains feeble, all his vicious attributes are removed. His two mistresses, Calpurnia and Cleopatra, are left out of the story, though the omission necessitates definite departure from Tacitus (XI. cap. 29-30). His consent to hear Messalina's defence is yielded in direct response to the prayers of the noble Vibidia, and on the reminder that Messalina is the mother of his children (*Mess.* V. 415 ff.); whereas in Tacitus' account, it is volunteered through the good-humour of mere physical content (XI. 37). The innocent Montanus is not implicated in his revenge (contrast Tac. *Ann.* XI. 36), and the callousness with which, according to Tacitus ⁵⁾ and Suetonius ⁶⁾, he receives the news

¹⁾ The nearest approach is Juvenal's incidental phrase: Silius « *rapitur miser exstinguendus Messalinae oculis* ». — *Sat.* X. 332-3.

²⁾ e. g. I. 299, II. 161 ff., 224 ff., III. 120 ff., 247 ff., V. 43 ff., 189 ff.

³⁾ IV. 67 ff.

⁴⁾ V. 255 ff.

⁵⁾ Tac. *Ann.* XI. 38.

⁶⁾ Suet., *Tib. Claud. Drus.* XXXIX, *ibid.* XXVI.

of Messalina's death, is softened to dignity by the omission of their detail (V. 550 ff.).

The play closes with Claudius' solemn declaration of his resolve never to marry again, but to rule strongly and suppress vice (V. 554 ff.); while the passage in Suetonius, upon which this is based, continues at once to describe how he breaks his oath and contracts an incestuous union with Agrippina. Claudius thus appears in the play solely as the betrayed husband, weak and credulous but in no way vicious, and at the last a worthy Emperor; and Messalina's crimes of infidelity and murderous conspiracy thus become blacker.

(c). *Lepida* is mentioned in this connection only at the end of Tacitus' account, when Messalina is left deserted and despairing in Lucullus' garden: ... « adsidente matre Lepida, quae florenti filiae haud concors supremis eius necessitatibus ad miserationem evicta erat suadebatque ne percussorem opperiretur: transisse vitam neque aliud quam morti decus quaerendum » (XI. 37). Later, however, Tacitus describes her as lewd, infamous and tyrannical: « ...utraque [Lepida et Agrippina] inpudica, infamis, violenta, haud minus vitiis aemulabantur, quam si qua ex fortuna prospera acceperant » (*Ann.* XII. 64). Richards utterly ignores the second passage, and eagerly develops the picture of the mother, forgetting past alienation in the appeal of her child's misery and danger. He not only uses the conception to the full in this scene (V. 444 ff.); working backwards from it, he imagines a long struggle by the virtuous mother to reclaim her daughter from sin. Thus we get the scenes (II. 269 ff., 317 ff.) in which Lepida beseeches Messalina, first with virtuous anger, then with maternal tenderness, to abandon her wicked life. Messalina, though softened for a moment, repulses her; and for a time grief drives Lepida mad (II. 356 ff.). The additional crime of filial impiety is thus laid on Messalina; and her wickedness shows itself proof against the strongest appeals of virtue.

(d). *Menester* is treated much in the same way as *Silius*; his original virtue is very much emphasised, and his corruption by Messalina thus casts the more guilt on her. Tacitus represents that he was forced to yield, by the lash and by the

Emperor's own command ¹⁾. This virtuous picture is, however, marred by an earlier reference to his adultery with Poppæa ²⁾. Suetonius also mentions that Menester was previously polluted by Caligula. ³⁾

Richards ignores all but Tacitus' statement that Menester yielded only on compulsion. He appears first as wholly virtuous (I. 353 ff.) : —

« In my life's sweet sequell I still striv'd
Wrestled with flesh and blood to immitate
The good I then preferred »...

Even though he knows that refusal of Messalina's favours means death (I. 345-6), he dares it ; and the torture that breaks his resolve is actually shown on the stage, not merely described, so that its horror is more real and his weakness more easily pardoned. Even then he declares

« ...my paine, but
Not my minde yeelds to your bed... »
(I. 407-8)

and the Act closes with his sad reflections on human weakness.

Later, it is true, he appears among those bewitched by Messalina's beauty ; and dies firmly, instead of begging mercy because he was coerced. This, however, makes Messalina's power of evil still greater than if, as in Tacitus, he remained an unwilling victim. She seduces the will as well as the body. Menester's fate, like that of Silius, throws on Messalina the guilt of utterly ruining a good man.

(e). *General.* The other associates and creatures of Messa-

¹⁾ *Ann.* XI. 36. Dio's account (LX. 22. 5) is still more favourable to Menester : Menester resists alike Messalina's rewards and threats, and is brought to yield only when the Emperor, worked upon by Messalina, commands him « to obey her in all things ». That Richards does not use this account, which would serve his purpose alike in its emphasis on Menester's unwillingness and on Messalina's power to dupe Claudius, adds to the probability that he was unacquainted with Dio's work (Cf. p. 38).

²⁾ *Ann.* XI. 4 « at causa [Petrae] necis ex eo, quod domum suam Mnesteris et Poppæae congressibus praeuissent ». Many old editions however read *Valerii* for *Mnesteris*, and thus Richards may have been saved the complication as far as Tacitus' account is concerned.

³⁾ *Suet., Calig.* XXXVI ; cf. LV. Cf. also Dio, LX, 22, 3 ; 28, 3.

lina, merely named by Tacitus, necessarily gain more importance in the larger scale of the play. Their development follows the obvious direction : they all appear as wholly lustful and debauched. The villainy of *Saufellus* in particular is emphasised. Tacitus names him merely as an accomplice (XI. 35), but in the play he is represented as pandar, murderer and plotter of rape, as well as adulterer. With similar effect, new characters are introduced in the *Bawd*, *Hem* and *Stitch*, adding the ugliness of the lowest types of villainy. The remaining person of the brothel-group, *Calphurnia*, is however not wholly bad. Despite her occupation, she is less lustful than Messalina ; « nor is it lust » she declares « but want, makes me a trader ; and those I clip with, I must like at least » (I. 118-9) ; and when Silius, to the Bawd's shocked indignation, denounces lust, Calphurnia exclaims « O, I could stand my lifetime here, to hear this Silius rail » ¹⁾.

Richards' favourable view of her appears in that he allows her apparently to escape punishment ; for he obviously feels it his duty to show that retribution overtakes vice, and her three wicked associates all meet terrible deaths ; just as in the loftier group of Messalina's associates, all perish except the « virtuously-inclined » Montanus.

Richards thus deepens the blackness of his picture of lust by a series of vicious figures — some entirely new, the others very much developed from mere hints in Tacitus — emphasising the foulness of the Empress, round whom they are grouped and under whom they flourish. On the other hand, several new characters and incidents are introduced to give the contrasted picture of the beauty of virtue. Here, as pure additions, without any suggestion from his authorities, we have the firm chastity of the three *Roman dames*, who prefer death to shame ²⁾, and the providential salvation of the *Vestal Virgins* ³⁾. The virtue of *Montanus* and his resistance to Messalina, described by

¹⁾ I. 227-8. Cf. Dekker, *The Honest Whore*, Part I, I. 6 (*Dram. Works*, Vol II, London, 1873, p. 37), where Bellafront, denounced by Hipolito, says « O yes, I pray proceed : Indeed, 'twill do me good to weep indeed ». Calphurnia's character, so far as the slight sketch goes, recalls that of Bellafront.

²⁾ II. 14 ff.

³⁾ IV. 68 ff., V. 107 ff.

Tacitus in one brief sentence ¹⁾, are exhibited at tedious length ²⁾, and he is given a partner in morality in *Mela*. Tacitus gives the latter a character far from blameless ³⁾, and Richards' transformation of the greedy money-hunter into a moral philosopher ⁴⁾ affords another example of his whitewashing art.

Most important of all, by ignoring complicating passages outside his immediate material — it may be deliberately, it may be through actual ignorance of them — Richards produces two incarnations of female virtue in *Silana* and *Lepida* — the perfect wife and the perfect mother.

Silana was, according to Tacitus, « insignis genere forma lascivia » ⁵⁾. She quarrelled with Agrippina because the latter hindered her remarriage after the death of Silius ⁶⁾; raised an accusation against her in revenge ⁷⁾; and, being banished on this account ⁸⁾, died in exile ⁹⁾. Richards, however, takes over from Tacitus only the fact of her divorce by Silius at the Empress's command, and freely invents details for a complete picture of deeply wronged virtue. *Silana* appears in the play as « the true Emblem of a perfect wife »; never even reproaching her husband for his desertion and his intention to murder her, except by her own protestation of innocence; willing to die rather than, by living, to cause him danger; and when he pays the penalty of his crime, dying brokenhearted on his corpse — as faithful and more passionate than *Lucrece* or *Portia* ¹⁰⁾.

¹⁾ *Ann.* XI. 36.

²⁾ III passim; especially III. 232 ff., and in dialogue with *Mela* (v.i. note 4).

³⁾ *Ann.* XVI. 18. It is true that Richards finds some slight justification in *Mela*'s readiness to meet death, and in the protestation in his will (judged however by Tacitus to be fictitious) of his innocence of serious crime.

⁴⁾ III. 1-97, 178-192, 300-358.

⁵⁾ *Ann.* XIII. 19.

⁶⁾ *ibid.*

⁷⁾ *ibid.*, and XIII. 21.

⁸⁾ XIII. 22.

⁹⁾ XIV. 12.

¹⁰⁾ II. 412 ff., V. 356 ff. *Silana* recalls Shakespeare's *Imogen*, who welcomes the prospect of death since she has lost her husband's love (*Cymbeline* III. 4), and forgets her wrongs when she believes him dead, falling unconscious on the corpse she believes to be his (*ibid.* IV. 2). But *Imogen* utters reproaches against *Posthumus* (III. 4) though she still loves him, and does not die, though she believes him dead. Richards will not stop short of the superlative degree, and *Silana*'s devotion is absolute.

The chief foil, however, for Messalina's blackness, is *Lepida*; whose character, very shady according to Tacitus, is transfigured by Richards, as already noted, to immaculate white perfection. She is the complete model of virtue, the protectress of chastity, as Messalina is the summary of vice, the fomenter of lust. The play thus becomes a moral exposition by contrasts. John Robinson, himself an actor in the piece, takes as its kernel the chief contrast :

« Thy nimble scenes discover
Romes lust-burnt Emp'resse and her vertuous Mother » ¹⁾.

The same contrast is specially emphasised by Combes ²⁾.

The moral purpose of the play is further illustrated by numerous set speeches exalting virtue and denouncing vice : for example, Silius' opening monologue ³⁾ ; his denunciation of vice, in the brothel ⁴⁾, and his praises of virtue to his wife ⁵⁾ ; Menester's soliloquy, recalling his aspirations towards virtue ⁶⁾ ; Lepida's persuasions to repentance, addressed to Messalina ⁷⁾ ; and Mela's discourses to Montanus ⁸⁾.

It is above all the moral aim of the play which receives praise in the commendatory verses ; for example, Rawlins writes

« Thy labour'd lines
Curbs Vice, crownes Vertue, gold from drosse refines.
All gazing eyes may see thy Anchorite Muse
Delights in a conversion, not abuse :
Romes mightie Whore by thee adorns the Stage
For to convert, not to corrupt this Age.

Applaud that happy wit whose veines can stirre
Religious thoughts, though in a Theator » ⁹⁾.

Richards himself declares his purpose, in the Epistle Dedicatory : « The sole Ayme of my discovery herein, no otherwise

¹⁾ v. i., reprint of Robinson's commendatory verses.

²⁾ v. i., reprint of commendatory verses.

³⁾ I. 1 ff.

⁴⁾ I. 188 ff.

⁵⁾ II. 478 ff.

⁶⁾ I. 346 ff.

⁷⁾ II. 272 ff., 317 ff.

⁸⁾ III. 1 ff.

⁹⁾ v. i. reprint of commendatory verses.

tends than to separate Soules from the discovered Evill, the suppression of Vice, and exaltation of Vertue, flight from sinne for feare of Iudgement ».

So again in the Prologue :

« To see high towring sinnes just punishment
And Vertues praise ; insatiate lust to die,
And chast Dames star'd unto Eternitie,
Will not this please ? » ¹⁾

The play thus falls perfectly into line with Richards' moral and satirical poems, for in them also, denunciation of lust and declaration of its inevitable punishment form the favourite motive ²⁾.

6. *Construction, and feeling for stage-effect.* While Richards thus appears, in *Messalina* as in his other work, pre-eminently as the moralist, he displays nevertheless some power of dramatic construction, and considerable feeling for stage-effect.

A common fault of historical tragedies is over-simplicity of plot, simple progress of good fortune being suddenly checked and changed to bad. This fault sometimes appears even in the work of masters of the drama ; in Shakespeare's *Richard III*, for example, and still more in Jonson's *Sejanus*. In *Messalina* it is joined with another fault to which the historical play is peculiarly liable — the introduction of episodes concerning the central person, but not the central action of the play.

The central action of *Messalina* is recognised by Richards in the lines from Juvenal quoted on the title-page :

« ...Optimus hic et formosissimus idem
Gentis patriciae rapitur miser exstinguendus
Messalinae oculis » ³⁾.

Messalina's seduction of Silius, culminating in their marriage : that is the central action to be presented. All Messalina's other sins might have escaped unpunished — her passing love-intrigues, her acts of lust and cruelty ; it is only her marriage with Silius, creating a political danger, that draws retribution

¹⁾ l. 20 f.

²⁾ Cf. p. 7 ff.

³⁾ *Sat.* X. 331-3.

upon her. All other incidents, then, should have been strictly subordinated to this. Episodes illustrating Messalina's character and introducing contrasting characters might legitimately be added, but they ought to have been kept in strict proportion to the central theme.

Although Richards shows distinct cleverness in working the secondary episodes into connection with the main action, the scenes in which Montanus and Mela appear forming the single and lamentable exception, he fails to observe this correct proportion, and treats the incidental episodes much too elaborately. He is tempted to do so by the simplicity of his plot; and his moral purpose adds to the temptation, since the additions heighten the contrast between vice and virtue.

The fault of oversimplicity of plot occurs already in the story as told by Tacitus. We find there a triumphant progress of unchecked crime until Claudius is aroused; and then, without any serious resistance to the new course of fortune, Messalina's utter fall and death. Still, Tacitus gives hints which might have been developed for the complication of the plot. The opponents of Messalina fear to tell Claudius the news of the marriage, knowing his utter infatuation about the Empress; and at length they do so through his mistresses ¹⁾. Hence a time of uncertainty could be introduced, instead of the perfectly abrupt and unquestioning change of front which Richards makes Claudius exhibit. He sacrifices this possibility in order to whitewash Claudius ²⁾. Again, Tacitus records Messalina's attempts to gain speech with Claudius, and her efforts to move him through the sight of their children, Britannicus and Octavia; attempts defeated by Narcissus ³⁾. Richards omits all this. Of the efforts made to appease Claudius, he retains only the intercession of Vibidia; which he represents as successful, compressing into a single incident two separate facts of Tacitus' story — her effort, frustrated by Narcissus, and Claudius' voluntary appointment of an interview with Messalina ⁴⁾.

On the other hand, Richards adds a moment's tension by

¹⁾ *Ann.* XII. 29-30.

²⁾ Cf. p. 45.

³⁾ *Ann.* XI. 32, 34.

⁴⁾ *Messalina*, V. 415 ff., cf. *Ann.*, XI. 34, 37.

making Messalina actually receive the news of Claudius' consent to hear her; thus giving a flash of hope just before the tragic climax. Had he similarly developed the earlier incidents tending to make the issue doubtful — the difficulty of rousing Claudius' anger against Messalina, her desperate efforts to escape her fate — the earlier action of the play need not have been so long drawn out. As it is, Richards undertakes the difficult task of filling the first three acts with the scanty material furnished by Tacitus in the *Annales*, XI. 12 and 26 ¹⁾, supplemented by slight borrowings from Pliny ²⁾ and Juvenal ³⁾.

In performing this task, Richards displays considerable inventive power, and a workmanlike ability to throw his incidents into connected form. The brothel scenes are cleverly fitted into the main story by making the brothel the place of Silius' fatal meeting with the Empress. Similarly, the compulsion of Menester is made the natural first-fruits of Messalina's greater license through Claudius' departure to Ostia. The same neat dovetailing is shown in the introduction of the entirely new material filling Act II. The attack on the chaste Roman dames follows Messalina's command in an earlier scene ⁴⁾, and Lepida is introduced naturally, as the sole refuge of chastity. This scene leads directly to those between Lepida, Messalina and Saufellus ⁵⁾, with their excellent melodrama of the mother upbraiding and then pleading. Here, Messalina's momentary softening furnishes a solitary anticipation of her death-hour repentance, and varies the monotony of her utter wickedness. In Lepida's madness, caused by her daughter's rough refusal of her good counsel, another useful stage-effect is gained, which is again turned to account in IV. 192 ff.

Richards' eagerness for striking situations leads him into

¹⁾ Cf. p. 33 f. The bulk of chapter 26 is devoted to Silius' arguments, persuading Messalina to marry him : matter which becomes useless to Richards on his transferring the proposal of marriage to Messalina.

²⁾ Cf. p. 37 f.

³⁾ *Sat.* X. 329 ff., VI. 115 ff. The latter passage furnishes merely the fact that Messalina visited a brothel — none of the detail is taken over. Cf. p. 37 and note on text, I. 98.

⁴⁾ I. 286 ff.

⁵⁾ II. 269 ff., 315 ff.

absurdity in the scene between Messalina and Silius ¹⁾, where she enforces « with a Pistoll » her demand that he shall murder his wife; but the scenes thus introduced, between the misguided husband and the faithful wife ²⁾, again afford excellent melodrama, and almost something higher. The scene in Silana's bedchamber comes nearer to genuine tragic effect than any other in the play; although the language, except for one brief moment ³⁾, is here — as generally — pompous and unnatural.

The third act is very obviously padding, though doubtless Richards' moralising zeal gave him more interest in the Mela-Montanus scenes than the spectator was likely to feel. He tries to enliven them by the trial of Mela's virtue ⁴⁾, and also adds the quarrel — absurd without being amusing — between Valens, Proculus and Menester ⁵⁾; but he utterly fails to connect this act with the rest of the play.

In the remaining acts, Richards' powers of construction are only slightly tested, for his authorities supply him with the main outlines and much of the detail. His additions, however, are cleverly worked in. The favourites' interesting discussion of the arrangements for the masque ⁶⁾ leads up to the design against the vestals, which in turn is made to explain Vibidia's intercession with Claudius on Messalina's behalf ⁷⁾, out of gratitude to her mother.

7. *Further illustrations of Richards' feeling for stage-effect.* The climax is remorselessly melodramatic: Messalina's favourites, including Proculus and Menester ⁸⁾, die heroically in series, so that each gets the opportunity for a little dying speech ⁹⁾; while the agony is heaped up by Silius' farewell to his wife, and her

¹⁾ II. 197 ff.

²⁾ II. 364 ff., V. 356 ff.

³⁾ *Sil.* « 'Tis for no fault sustain'd on thy behalfe,
No; 'tis the Emprise Doome.

Syl. She; nay then » (II. 446-8).

⁴⁾ III. 18 ff.

⁵⁾ III. 103 ff.

⁶⁾ IV. 215 ff.

⁷⁾ V. 415 ff.

⁸⁾ According to Tacitus (*Ann.* XI. 35-6) these two were exceptions to the general firmness; cf. note on V. 294.

⁹⁾ V. 292 ff.

death on his corpse. Even Messalina is brought into the conventional line, bidding a penitent farewell to her mother, and dying firmly ¹⁾; failing to kill herself through lack of strength, not of courage, and begging for the final stroke, which according to Tacitus ²⁾, was struck by Evodius in impatience with her own timid and hesitating attempt.

The Senecan tradition, which inspires this rather monotonous emphasis on desperate fortitude in face of death ³⁾, also made the exhibition on the stage of violent deaths and other horrors a common habit in Elizabethan tragedy ⁴⁾; but Richards, in his desire to lose no jot of stage effect, passes the usual limits. Of the twenty-eight persons of the play, eleven are slain on the stage, one dies broken-hearted on the stage, and four are slain off the stage. Further, Menester is tortured on the stage, and Lepida goes mad.

Numerous highly rhetorical set speeches, including some truly in «Ercles vein», bear further witness alike to the influence of the Senecan tradition ⁵⁾ and to Richards' strong though crude sense for stage-effect. Silius' soliloquy beside his sleeping wife, and her narration, on waking, of her dream ⁶⁾, stand rather apart, intended chiefly to emphasise the pathos of the broken tie; while Silius' address to his partisans ⁷⁾ and Narcissus' speech in the Masque scene ⁸⁾ preserve some dignity even when the rhetoric grows strained. Rants pure and simple, however, occur in Messalina's two declarations of her abandonment to lust ⁹⁾, and her dying speech ¹⁰⁾; the outbursts of Claudius' anguish of shame and passion for revenge ¹¹⁾; Silius' invocation of death, and his farewell to Silana ¹²⁾; Lepida's

¹⁾ V. 522 ff.

²⁾ *Ann.* XI. 38.

³⁾ Cf. Cunliffe, *Influence of Seneca on Eliz. Tragedy*, pp. 39-40.

⁴⁾ Cf. *ib.* pp. 40-43, et passim.

⁵⁾ Cf. *ib.*, p. 18 f.

⁶⁾ II. 394 ff.

⁷⁾ IV. 67 ff.

⁸⁾ V. 206 ff.

⁹⁾ I. 278 ff.; II. 125 ff.

¹⁰⁾ V. 522 ff.

¹¹⁾ V. 28 ff.

¹²⁾ V. 328 ff.

raving, when Messalina's rebuff drives her mad ¹⁾; the closing words of Narcissus after planning Messalina's ruin ²⁾; and the dying speeches of Menester ³⁾ and Saufellus ⁴⁾.

Finally, Richards' desire for stage-effect is shown in his scenic suggestions. The incidents described by Tacitus furnish two obvious opportunities for stage pageantry: the Masque ⁵⁾, and the marriage of Messalina and Silius ⁶⁾. Richards gets two pageants out of the marriage-arrangements. First he presents the scene of the public contract ⁷⁾, as is indeed natural to the course of the story; then he shows the procession, passing across the stage on the way to the temple ⁸⁾ — an addition simply for the sake of its scenic value, heightening at the same time the effect of Lepida's denunciations.

Similarly, the possibilities of the Masque are fully exploited, and a gorgeous spectacular scene is elaborated round it ⁹⁾. The mob, driven back by the Guard, serves as background for the procession of the Senate. Next follows the Masque; and at its close Silius and Messalina appear «gloriously crown'd in an Arch-glittering Cloud aloft», and are received as they descend by three courtiers and «three Curtezans in the habit of Queenes with Coronets of state». Then, in the appearance and speech of Narcissus, Richards introduces the needful black spot; the contrast between the brilliant scene, and the baleful words of the unnoticed intruder heightening the effect of both.

Another procession-spectacle is introduced on the Emperor's departure to Ostia ¹⁰⁾; and a banquet, with music ¹¹⁾, to enliven the dulness of Act III. In addition to the dance mentioned by Tacitus in the revels at the Empress' palace ¹²⁾, a dance is intro-

¹⁾ II. 356 ff.

²⁾ IV. 192 ff.

³⁾ V. 318 ff.

⁴⁾ V. 155 ff.

⁵⁾ Tac., *Ann.* XI. 31.

⁶⁾ *ibid.*, XI. 27.

⁷⁾ IV. 1 ff. Richards neglects the nuptial banquet mentioned by Tacitus, and only alludes to the sacrificial rites without displaying them.

⁸⁾ Following IV. 203.

⁹⁾ V. 183 ff.

¹⁰⁾ Following I. 265.

¹¹⁾ Following III. 230.

¹²⁾ *Ann.* XI. 27; *Mess.* following V. 188.

duced for Messalina and Saufellus ¹⁾; and another — practically a small Masque — is performed by the Furies invoked by Messalina : three Furies sing, and eight « dance an anticke » ²⁾. An addition very similar to the last-mentioned is the « Song of Despaire », also sung by three spirits ³⁾; « left out of the Play » Richards pathetically remarks « in regard there was none could sing it in Parts ».

The settings of the supernatural episodes, indeed, supply excellent examples of Richards' desire to secure striking stage-effects, and of the frequent crudity of his results. All the terrors of the stage are lavished on the destruction of Saufellus and the two humbler pandars ⁴⁾. To the accompaniment of thunder and lightning, Hem and Stitch sink into the gaping earth ; and Saufellus, confronted by the ghosts of the three murdered dames, by an Angel, and by « Revenge threatening », sinks also « shot with a Thunderbolt ». The ghostly climax, however, is appropriately reserved for Messalina, whose dying hour is made terrible by three spirits, singing to the violin and lute ⁵⁾, and no fewer than eleven ghosts, with torches ⁶⁾ !

While Richards exploits the supernatural primarily for its stage effect, he also makes it emphasise his moral. The supernatural death of Saufellus and his tools expresses Richards' conception of an active Providence, protecting virtue and punishing its persecutors. Similarly, Messalina's invocation of the Furies of lust, and in a less degree the spirits' « Song of Despaire », suggest an actual connection between her and the powers of evil ; a suggestion corroborated by her speeches ⁷⁾. The connection is left vague, half real, half symbolical of her possession by the spirits of lust and cruelty. She stands, not utterly unworthily, among the descendants of Marlowe's titanic creations : as Tamburlaine is the incarnation of ambition, Barabas of avarice and vengefulness, Faustus of the thirst for

¹⁾ Following II. 314.

²⁾ II. 142 ff.

³⁾ Following V. 470.

⁴⁾ V. 145 ff.

⁵⁾ v. s. note 3.

⁶⁾ Following V. 490.

⁷⁾ v. p. 39.

the fulness of life, for the utter satisfaction of all conceivable desires, so Messalina is the incarnation of lust.

8. *Metre.* *Messalina* is written in blank verse, varied by occasional heroic couplets, and by two songs in rhymed trochaic octosyllabics.

I. *The Blank Verse.*

(A). *Apparent irregularities.*

(1). Very many of the apparent metrical irregularities of our text are to be explained by faulty division on the part of the printer, and rearrangement removes them, yielding normal verse.

Here fall the passages beginning with the following verses :

Act I. 20, 123, 267, 282, 297, 322, 356, 402, 407.

» II. 9, 21, 32, 36, 99, 106, 116, 236, 532.

» III. 18, 81, 163, 184, 313, 334, 342.

» IV. { 4, 71, 76, 98, 104, 124, 148, 172, 176, 189, 215, 220,
(223, 257, 275, 279, 314.

» V. { 1, 19, 25, 67, 75, 88, 166, 255, 261, 275, 284, 329, 339,
(379, 399, 515.

For correct division, see notes.

(2). The printer has raised further apparent irregularities by cutting into lengths, as verse, passages of prose ¹⁾. Here fall four passages, all belonging to the comic bawd-scenes :

I. 131-158, 176-8, 219-21

II. 89-94.

Richards thus follows the contemporary dramatic convention which limited prose, generally ²⁾, to the purposes of comedy. For further remarks, v. notes.

(3). There remain two passages which do not yield to rearrangement as verse ; but which, from their character and setting, cannot be explained as deliberate prose : II. 4-7, IV. 247-253. The former passage occurs in the middle of a very

¹⁾ A rather frequent arrangement in old quartos, cf. Parrott's remark about Chapman's *Cesar and Pompey*, Anglia XXX. 507 ; Davenport's *King John and Matilda*, p. 75. (Works, ed. Bullen, 1890. *Old English Plays*, New Series. Vol. III).

²⁾ Though of course not exclusively : cf. Abbott, *Shakespearian Grammar*, § 515 a.

serious speech by Lepida, beginning, and after these lines again continuing, in regular verse. The second passage, though less elevated in tone, not only is embedded in verse, but also contains three normal verses (249-51) sandwiched between non-metrical passages (247-8 and 252-3). These cases can be explained only by the supposition that Richards left them in this unfinished form, intending to versify them later, but never carrying out the intention. This explanation is supported by other evidence suggesting that the MS. of *Messalina* was not carefully revised ¹⁾; evidence strengthened by the similar probability in the case of the *Poems Sacred and Satyricall* ²⁾.

(B). *Characteristics of Richard's blank verse.*

The verse of *Messalina*, cleared of the above accidents, has little to distinguish it from the blank verse of other second-rate contemporary plays. It is distinctly less careful than Richard's work in the heroic couplet: a fact explained partly by the change in form, leaving the leading-strings to metrical correctness furnished by rhyme; more, by the change from didactic to dramatic verse. In *Messalina*, Richards considers most the effect of the verse when spoken, and allows himself such licences as would pass unnoticed in delivery on the stage ³⁾.

(a). Here we must mention first a verse-construction the frequent use of which seems peculiar to Richards ⁴⁾: a normal verse followed by a broken verse, so arranged that the latter part of the first verse supplies a metrical equivalent for the missing feet of the broken verse. The result is, that in delivery this latter part of the normal verse does double duty, completing its own verse, and at the same time beginning, and thus normalising, the broken verse ⁵⁾.

¹⁾ v. notes on II. 49, II. 251.

²⁾ v. remarks above on *Mans Miserie* (p. 19) and *The Soules Seafight* (p. 21).

³⁾ Cf. remarks on Style, p. 62 f.

⁴⁾ Occasional examples are to be found elsewhere; e. g. *Julius Caesar* I. 3. 71-4; but they are rare, and generally attributable to special circumstances, while Richards uses the device in the midst of ordinary verse.

⁵⁾ This device is quite distinct from that which Abbott calls the « Amphibious Section », in which « when a verse consists of two parts uttered by two speakers, the latter part is frequently the former part of the following verse » (*Shakesp. Grammar* § 513). In all the certain cases of A. S. cited by Abbott, the first verse is the incomplete one, completed by the former part of the following normal verse.

For example, I* 357-8 ¹⁾ : —

[... some Fiend]

« Rais'd from the Pit of feare, hath all my goodnesse
To a period dropt ».

Here the last two feet of verse *357 («hath all my goodnesse») do double duty; completing that verse, and by enjambement supplying the missing foot in verse *358, giving a perfect verse:—

« Hath all my goodnesse to a period dropt ».

In all the cases cited below as indubitable, the beginning of what we may call the *embedded* verse coincides with the cæsura of the complete verse, and the slight pause at the end of the complete verse thus becomes in turn the cæsura of the embedded verse : —

« Rais'd from the Pit of feare, | hath all my goodnesse | to a period dropt ».

Thus only very careful attention could detect any irregularity in the lines when spoken.

Other examples occur in : IV *317 f, V *75 f, *329 f, 447 f.

Alternative explanations are possible for I 368 f. IV 262 f. ²⁾.

(b). *Other departures from the normal verse.*

(1). *Arsis missing after pause* : II. 97, 128, 179, 519 (?) III. 345, IV. *39, 292-3 [?], V. 121, *341, *361.

(2). *Thesis missing after pause* : II. 139, 447, IV. *107, V. 165, 192, 195, *287, 346. Possibly also II. 59, IV. 74, V. 37, *346, 519.

Such lines as those given under (1) and (2) were called « pause syllable lines » by Karl Elze, cf. his *Notes on Elizabethan Dramatists, with conjectural emendations of the text*, Halle 1884; cf. also A. Wagner, *Eng. Stud.* IX. 121 f., and Schipper, *Englische Metrik* II. § 17. In the lines quoted under (1) the pause fills an arsis, in those quoted under (2) a thesis. These latter cases Schipper groups under the heading : « Fehlen der Senkung nach der Cæsur » (*l. c.* § 16 p. 36).

¹⁾ In many cases, where rearrangement of the text-reading is needed for the metre, this causes a discrepancy between the line-numbering as in the text and the verse-numbering under the new arrangement. (Thus in the case just quoted, our verse *357, « Rais'd from the Pit » etc., begins, according to the line-numbering in the text, in the middle of l. 356). In such cases, where we wish to refer to the rearranged reading and numbering given in the notes, an asterisk is prefixed to the verse-number.

²⁾ In all cases cf. notes.

(3). *Thesis missing in other positions, before an emphatic word* :

(a). Very frequently the Auftakt is missing before an emphatic word, e. g. V. 6, 27, 193, 294, 355.

(b). A few cases occur, in addition to those named under (2), where the thesis fails within the verse, before an emphatic word : V. 7, 9, 195, *255.

(4). *Catalectic verses* (i. e. lacking the arsis in the fifth foot) : II. *4, III. 22, 331 ; IV. *79, *149, *172, 234 ; V. *67, *174, 347, 443, 444, 452, 494, 529, 541. (In the term « catalectic verse » we follow Karl Elze, cf. his *Notes on Elizabethan Dramatists*, Halle 1889). Schipper restricts their use, saying « Ausfall der letzten Hebung ist m. E. nur in solchen Fällen anzunehmen, in denen eine Unterbrechung der Rede stattfindet » (II. § 17) and Wagner approves of this decision (*Eng. Stud.* XIV. 144 ff.). But Richards' use of them, without this limitation, is not to be doubted. It is true that some of the cases might be easily corrected, as e. g. IV. 19 by reading « Empery » for « Empire » ; but most of them defy emendation, and their number puts them beyond question.

(5). *Epical cæsura* : II. *6, 73, 131, 303, 310, 313-4, IV. *279, V. *75, 171, 177, 190, 257-8, *286 (a 4-beat line) 413, *430, 432, *470-1, 510.

(6). *Alexandrines* : II. *21, IV. *153, 214-5, V. *44, 404.

Possibly also IV. *291, V. *215, *406.

In decasyllabic verses, only isolated peculiarities occur, which are treated in the notes. We may note here the occurrence of a trochee as fifth foot in I. 284, II. 216 (?), IV. *148, V. *90, 95, 96, *277 (?), 543.

The irregularities grow more frequent as the play progresses, the last act containing most. Richards apparently began the play carefully, with the regular habit of his couplet-verses ; then, growing familiar with his new metre, took liberties with it.

II. *Rhyme*. The Prologue and Epilogue are in the heroic couplet ; and further, 178 verses in heroic couplet occur in the course of the play (excluding 18 verses in which imperfect rhyme occurs probably accidentally). Of these 178 verses,

22 are quoted from the non-dramatic poems ¹⁾).

Richard's use of rhyme in no way departs from custom ²⁾, his rhymed couplets occurring generally, though not exclusively, at the end of speeches, especially of speeches concluding a scene. An exceptional case occurs in the semi-lyrical passage between Messalina and Silius (V. 189 ff.) which contains two rhymed couplets, and two with rich rhyme, each couplet divided between the two speakers.

In rhyme are also the Song of the Furies ³⁾ and the « Song of Despaire » ⁴⁾. Both have as basis the trochaic octosyllabic verse sometimes used by Shakespeare for the speeches of witches, fairies and other extraordinary beings (cf. Abbott § 504). The immediate suggestion for its use here was probably given by the songs of the witches in *Macbeth* ⁵⁾. The short lines follow the metre of the short lines spoken by the second witch as *Macbeth* enters ⁶⁾.

9. *Style*. Some examples of the chief characteristics of the style of *Messalina* may be collected here.

(1). *Free use of simile and metaphor* (as in the non-dramatic poems, cf. p. 4 ff., passim, especially pp. 5, 6, 27.

(a). *Simile* : the most striking cases occur in II. 304 ff., 331 ff. ; III. 245 ff., 272 ff. ; IV. 8 ff., 140 ff., 165 ff. ; V. 165 ff., 369 ; further cases in II. 254, III. 323 f., IV. 108 f., V. 330 f. Cf. also *Classical Allusions* (v. i. § 2).

(b). *Metaphor* : the chief examples are II. 251 f., V. 40, 44 ff., 318 ff., 398, 403 f., 440.

(2). *Classical Allusions*, often in comparisons and similes, occur frequently : e. g. II. 236, 240, 256, 260, 293, 300, 304, 365, 371 ff. III. 125 f., 288 f., V. 159 ff., 203 ff.

(3). *Exaggerated rhetoric ; incoherence* : We have already noticed the frequent exaggeration of rhetoric into ranting in *Messalina* ⁷⁾, remarking the joint influence of the Senecan

¹⁾ For references v. s., p. 42.

²⁾ Cf. Abbott Shakesp. Grammar § 515 ; Goswin König *Der Vers in Shakespeares Dramen* p. 122 ff.

³⁾ II. 129 ff.

⁴⁾ V. 441 ff.

⁵⁾ *Macbeth* IV. 1. 1 ff.

⁶⁾ *ibid.* IV. 1. 46 f.

⁷⁾ v. p. 55 f.

tradition and of Richards' desire to secure the utmost stage effect. These influences sometimes lead him, in his search for fine-sounding, mouth-filling phrases, to lose sight of sense. He grows incoherent in II. 241 ff., 256 ff., IV. 12. The worst descent into bathos occurs in II. 483 f. :

« Of ills 'tis ever best, the worst to shunne,
By murders murderers souls are oft undone ».

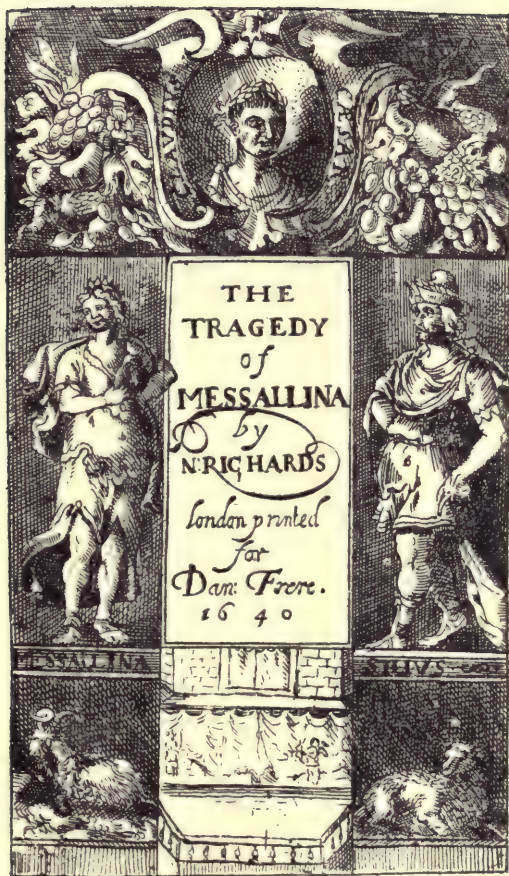
Here must further be included Richard's occasional confusion of metaphors and similes. The worst cases are II. 247 ff., 275 ff. ; cf. further I. 286-9, 294, II. 170, 401-6 (v. notes).

(4). *Alliteration*. In *Messalina*, as in the non-dramatic poems, Richards uses alliteration freely, though it grows unusually marked only in occasional phrases like « Puff-paste costly coxcombe » (I. 28). Cases of more normal use may be found on almost every page ; a few from the first half of the first act will suffice as examples : I. 29, 30, 35-6, 54, 56, 68-9, 109, 124-5, 141, 149, 160, 162, 163, 171, 194-5, 199, 200.

Cf. further § (5).

(5). *Word-jingles* : Rather frequently, Richards repeats a word, or uses two words of similar sound, giving a jingling effect, often with more or less approach to a pun : e. g. « ignoble noble blood » (I. 9) ; « from the direct to ways directly ill » (I. 15) ; further, in I. 33, 34-5, 168-9, 181-3 ; III. 328 ; IV. 12, 160, 178-9 ; V. 38, 78-9.

(6). *Asyndeton* : In actual construction, one of the style-characteristics of *Messalina* is frequent asyndeton : e. g. I. 211-4, 258-9, 283 ff. 353-4 ; II. 83-4, 137, 186-8, 237-243 ; 295, 396, 519-20, 524 ; III. 334, 337, IV. 80-1, 129, 203, 209, 230, 263, 311 f. ; V. 83.



TO
 THE RIGHT
 HONOURABLE
 AND TRULY NOBLE
 MINDED, *JOHN*
CARY, VISCOUNT
ROCHFORD.

My Lord,

Our right Noble wil-
 ling minde (though
 serious occasions could
 not permit you) to see
 this *Tragedy Acted*, emboldens
 me (through the confidence I

A. 4.

have

The Epistle.

15 have in your sweet disposition)
 to present it unto you, the *Heire*
 and *Honour* of your *Great* and
 Noble Family ; *Emperatricis li-*
bido, periculosissima est, witnesse
 20 *Valeria Messallina*, her Lust and
 Rule over doating *Majestie*. This
 testified by *Romes* Historians,
 (*Tacitus, Suetonus, Pliny, Plutarch*
 and *Juvenall*) the world (unlesse
 25 among the crooked conditions
 of the *Envious*) may (being ho-
 nestly opinionated) perceive,
 that the sole Ayme of my disco-
 very herein, no otherwise tends
 30 then to separate *Soules* from the
 discovered *Evill*, the suppressi-
 on of *Vice*, and exaltation of *Ver-*
tue, flight from sinne for feare
 of

Dedicatory

35 of Iudgement ; which seriously
 considered in a *Noble nature*. The
glorious Strumpet, sparkling in
 beautie and destruction can ne-
 ver have power to tempt : This
 40 *Play* upon the *Stage*, passed the
 generall applause as well of Ho-
 norable Personáges as others :
 And my hope is, the perusall will
 prove no lesse pleasing to your
 45 *Honour*. Two passages are past,
 the *Stage* and the *Presse* ; nothing
 is absent now but the gentle ap-
 probation of your Lordships
 clemency to confirme the in-
 50 deavour of him that truly is

Your Lordships true
Honourer,

Nathanael Richards.

55 To his worthy Friend, Mr. *Nathanael Richards*, upon his
well-written Tragedy of
Messallina.

When I beheld this *Roman Tragedie*,
Where the mad sinne of Lust in *Majestie*
60 And pow'r I saw attir'd, triumphantly,
Guiding the *Helm* of doating sovereignty
To her own *Compass* ; I was pleas'd with it,
Cause things immodest, modestly were write.
Not in *Prodigious Language* that would start
65 Into the *Cheekes* the suff'rings of the heart,
And fright a *Blush* into a Feavour : tho
Of late (shame to this Age) some have writ so.
Had yours been such, never should Pen of mine
(Poore though my *Muse*) have lent you halfe a line.
70 But now agen, recalling what you writ,
How well adorn'd with words, and wrought with wit ;
I'le justifie the *Language* and the *Plot*
Can neither cast aspersion, nor spot
On your cleane *Fancie* ; But *Apollo's* Bayse
75 Growes green upon your *Brow* to crowne your praise.
Then for this *Tragedy*, securely rest,
'Tis current *Coyne*, and will endure the Test.

Stephen Bradwell.

80 To my true Friend Mr. *Nathanael Richards* is due praise of
his Tragedy of *Messallina*.

Friend, y'ave so well limn'd *Messallina's* lust
T'were pittty that the Peece should kisse the dust
Of darke *Oblivion* ; you have (I confesse)
85 Apply'd a due *Preservative* the *Presse*.
Y'are now sayl'd forth o'th *Narrow Sea*, the Stage,
Into the world's wide *Ocean*, where the rage
Of Criticisme, it's utmost will extend
To buffet your new *Barke* ; But feare not Friend,
90 She's so well built, so ballac't, so well man'd
With *Plot*, with *Forme* and *Language* that shee'l stand
The *storme* ; and having plough'd the Seas passion,
Will Anchor safe i'th Rhode of approbation :
Where judgements equall hand shall moare her fast
95 And hang a Lawrell-Garland on her Maste.

Robert Davenport.

*Carissimo amico Auctori in eximiam
Messallinæ Tragediam.*

100 **R** *Identem venerem veteres pinxere, sed ecce
Apparet Venus hic sanguinolenta, nigra.
Lascivos amplexa vires amplectitur ensem :
Efferat quæ vita, est hæc furibunda nece.
Sic eadem victrix, eademque libidinis ultrix,
Messallina, altrix quæ fuit, ipsa fuit,
105 Dum moritur mala pars, oritur pars, conjugis, illa,
Quæ superat quamvis mors in utramque furit,
Casta parens toties, quoties fit adultera proles,
Pugnat & adversa cum pietate scelus :
Dumque scelus fugiens dat terga, stat altera lugens,
110 Et nituit niveo pectore purus honor.
Hæc ubi sunt verbis aptata, tragedia digna
Illa est inprimis laudis & illa tua est.*

Thoma Combes.

115 To his Friend Mr. *Nathanael*
Richards, upon his Tragedy
 of *Messallina*.

IF it be good to write the *truth* of ill
 And *Vertues* excellence, 'tis in thy skill
 (Respected Friend) thy nimble *Scenes* discover
 120 *Romes* lust-burnt *Emp'resse* and her vertuous *Mother*
 So truly to the life ; judgement may see,
 (Praysing this *Peece*) I doe not flatter thee.
 Men here may reade Heaven's Art to chastise Lust ;
 Rich *Vertue* in a *Play*, so cleare ; no rust,
 125 Bred by the *squint* ey'd *critickes* conquering breath
 Can e're deface it ; *Messalina's* death
 Adds life unto the *Stage* ; where though she die
 Defam'd ; true *justice* crownes this Tragedy.

Jo. Robinson.

130 To my Friend the Author M^r.
 Nathanael Richards on his Tragedy
 of Messallina.

F *Or this thy Play (deare Friend) I must confesse*
 Thy Plot's contrived with such misteriousnesse
 135 *As if Fate turn'd the Scene ; thy Language can*
 Expresse thee a Divine and Morrall Man,
 The Musicke of thy Numbers might entice
 Time's glorious Harlot from her lust-stung vice.
 This is to shew my judgement, who will say
 140 *(That findes my approbation of this Play)*
 I want needefull knowledge ? It shall be
 Sufficient praise for me, I can praise thee.
 'Tis judgement to know judgement, and I find
 Most of our Playhouse wits, are of my minde.
 145 *Men call them Censurers a stocke of brothers,*
 Thought wise by praysing and dispraysing others :
 Bid them write Playes themselves, & then you'l soyle 'em ;
 The'yl say they can't finde time, yes time to spoyle 'em.
 'Thou art above their aymes, who dislikes this
 150 *Must be a Goose, or Serpent : let him hisse.*

 Tho. Iordan.

To his worthy Friend Mr.
Nathanael Richards, upon his
 Tragedy of *Messallina*.

- 155 **B**Ehold a *Poet* whose laborious Quill
 Dictates his Makers prayse, above the skill
 Of times *Earthminding* Idolls muddy straine
 (Base as the things they immitate) thy veine
 (Approved friend) strikes dead the impious *Times*
 160 Adored *Vices* and high raised *Crimes*
 Which pulls swift *vengeance* downe ; thy labour'd lines
 Curbs *Vice*, crowns *Vertue*, gold from drosse refines
 All gazing eyes may see thy Anchorite Muse
 Delights in a conversion, not abuse
 165 *Romes* mightie Whore by thee adornes the Stage :
 For to convert not to corrupt this *Age*.
 And they that (*Messallina*) thus pend sees
 Must praise the Author's candor, thriftie Bees
 Suck Hony out of weeds, her actions may
 170 Have miracles for issue, if y' obay
 Your jogging consciences that whispering say,
 Be rul'd by this, instructing (Tragicke) Play. '
Applaud that happy wit whose veines can stirre
 Religious thoughts, *though in a Theator*.

The Actors Names.

- Claudius* Emperour — • *Will. Cartwright* Sen.
Silius chiefe Favorite } *Christopher Goad.*
 to the Empresse. }
 180 *Saufellus* chiefe of Counsell } *Iohn Robinson.*
 to *Silius* and *Messallina* }
Valens } Of the same faction and favorites.
Proculus }
Menester an actor and Favorite } *Sam. Tomson.*
 185 compel'd by the Empresse }
Montanus a knight in *Rome* } *Rich. Iohnson.*
 defence vertuously inclined. }
Mela Seneca's Brother ——— *Will. Hall.*
Virgilianus and } Senators of *Messallinas* Faction.
 190 *Calphurnianus* }
Sulpitius of the same Faction.
Narcissus }
Pallas } Minnions to the Emperour of his faction.
Calistus }
 195 *Evodius* a Souldier.

Messallina Empresse ——— *Iohn Barret.*
Lepida mother to *Messallina* ——— *Tho. Jordan.*
Sylana wife to *Silius* ——— *Mathias Morris.*
Vibidia matron of the Vestalls.
 200 *Calphurnia* a Curtizan.
Hem and *Stitch*, two Panders.
 Three murdered *Roman* Dames.
Manutius and *Folio*, Servants to *Lepida*.
 Three Spirits.
 205 Two severall Antimasques of Spirits and Bachinalls.

The Prologue.

- T**O write a Tragedy is no such ease
As some may thinke, 'mongst whom ther's a disease
Still of dislike, censuring what ere is writ
 210 *With ignorance ; onely to be thought a wit.*
Playes are like several meates, their strange effects
So different prove, some carelesly neglect
What others long for, that which surfets thee,
Another sayes tis good, gives life to me.
 215 *What's to be done ? the way to please you all*
Requires an Art, past Magick naturall.
Our best endeavours still with Comick fare
Have strived to please ; now all our cost and care,
Soares on the wings of labour'd industrie ;
 220 *To feast your senses with the Tragedy*
Of Roman Messallina, the play is new,
And by Romes fam'd Historians confirm'd true.
We hope you'l not distaste it, nor us blame,
Where spots of life are acted to sinnes shame.
 225 *Tell me I pray ? can there be no content ?*
To see high tousing sinnes just punishment
And Vertues prayse ; insatiate lust to die,
And chast Dames star'd unto Eternitie,
Will not this please ? if any answer no,
 230 *I, let that soule and all the world to know,*
Your loves the marke we ayme at, all our might,
Shootes at your love, labours to hit that white.

THE
TRAGEDY OF
Messallina,
The Roman Empresse.

ACT. I. SCENE. I.

Enter Silius reading in a Booke.

Sil.

S

Ola virtus vera nobilitas.

Vertue is onely true nobilitie,
So speakes our times best Tutor *Seneca*,
And 'tis divinely spoken, like himselfe,

True Philosopher, for what is't to man

For to be borne noble, and yet detaine

245 Th'ignoble mind of vice, licentious will,

Such no way are alide to noblenesse.

Times hellbred, base, ignoble noble blood,

Runnes through his veines, thats only great not good.

Farre better live a private life with thee,

250 Thou sweete companion to Well-minded man.

Here's no seducing Pompe, no clouds of vice,

Nor fogges of vanitie obscures mans sight

B 2.

From

From the direct to wayes directly ill.

This seale confirme the sequell of my life

255 To immitate the good that thou presents.

Kisseth the Booke.

Enter Valens and Proculus.

Val. Still plodding at your Book, shall we ne'r find

You otherwise ; Pox of this sad mutt'ring

260 To your selfe ; hang't up, 'tis a disease to

Sweet alacritie, of all true joviall

Minds to be abhord, come. —

*Offers to take away
the Booke.*

Sil. Prethe disist.

265 *Pro.* How scurvily this shewes, how ill in you,

That Should be fram'd just of the times fashion.

Sil. That's learning, and valour ; or should be so

At least ; and not in outsides fond delight,

Whereon Times Puffe-paste costly coxcombe, all

270 His great little wit, and wealth, thinkes best bestow'd

To please his Mistri's Eye ; when all mans minde

Should bend his course to follow virtues steps.

Val. Out upon't ; drinke me and whore ; those are

The vertues best, and best accepted 'mong

275 Gallants of this age.

Sil. Th'are gallant sots,

Silly and senselesse ; what's all the delight,

That seems so pleasing to the itchie whorer ?

But like the Itch, scratch't raw, 'tis still the sorer

280 'Twill smart to purpose ; make you to find out

An obscure grave, cold as the snowy Alpes,

There, in a hollow circle of the night

Lust breeds more cause of terrour then delight.

Pro. Fie *Cajus* fie, turn'd Satire gainst your friends,

285 *Sil.* Alas y'are blind my friends, and I am sorry.

Val.

Val. Pish ; wer't not for sparkling beauty, (?.....)
woman,

Woman I say, that faire and winning creature,
Whose ne'r to be resisted delicate touch,
290 Divides us into all the sweets of sense,
Wer't not for her, (glorious sweet fac'd woman,)
Man makes no use of his Creation,
What saies our *Roman* phrase,
Si non letaris vivens laetabere nanquam.

295 Leave then this puling study and be rul'd.
Hang up philosophy that Sceane of sorrow,
Come goe with me to beauties faire abode,
There, if you'l make true tryall of your strength,
Let it be there imploy'd ; doe but withstand
300 The catching beauties there, and spight of all
Their powerfull charmes and incantations
Come freely off, untainted with the Act.
For ever Ile abjure to be seduc'd
By the world's quaint enticements ; betake me
305 Wholly to Philosophy, and practise
The same in life.

Pro. So shall *Proculus*.

Sil. O were I sure that sworne you'd keepe, & not
Infringe your vowes (though noble wisdom bids,
310 To shunne the glorious strumpets licorish snares,)
You soone should finde me sudaine dare to stand,
The baites of whoorish fortitude unmoov'd.

Val. Talke not but do't.

Pro. Therein consists the Test
315 Of compleat man.

Sil. Then on this booke take Oath,
Sweare that by all the good therein contain'd,
And all that's good the vertues of true Man,
At my returne free from adultr'ate sinne

320 To live true friends to vertue ever after
You shall prevaile.

Both. We sweare.

Vall. So deeply sweare

That may *Ioves* thunder strike when we forsake

325 Our vows.

Sil. Tis well, lead on ; And if I ever prove

False to *Syllana* punish me great *Iove*.

Exeunt

*Exter Veneria the Bawd, Calphurnia, Hem
and Stitch, Panders.*

330 *Bawd.* Hey ho, what *Hem, Hem, Hem*, what *Hem* I say.

Hem. Here Mistresse.

Bawd. *Stitch*, oh *Stitch*.

St. In your side Madam.

Bawd. No *Stitch*, orethwart my heart, O I shall die ;

335 The bottle, the bottle, the bottle knave the bottle.

Shee drinks.

Cal. Doe doe drinke and be fatter still up with't,
Why so my brave bundle of guts and garbish.

Bawd. I you may well say drinke ; well may I drink

340 All sorrow from my heart, for I thanke you

Ten thousand sesterces, this day is lost

To our victorious Empresse *Messallina* ;

* Witnesse the Number five and twentie,

All in the circuit of a day and night,

345 And yet shees ready for a new delight.

Cal. She may, for who but she dares do the like,
For a poore subject, halfe the number serves,

* *Messallina* Claudij Cæsaris conjux hanc regalem existimans palam elegit in id certamen nobilissimam è prostitutis ancillam mercenarie stipis eamque die ac nocte superavit quinto ac vicesimo concubitu *Plin.* lib. 10 cap. 62.

On greatest Queenes most servants still attends.

Bawd. Hadst not provocations to enable thee,
350 Confection of Cantharides, Diasaterion Eringoes,
Snailles, Oysters, Alligant, and could not these
Make thee hold out with five and twentie ;
'Twas but a Forenoones worke, a forenoones work
You paltry puling.

355 *Cal.* I, in your young dayes.

Bawd. In my young dayes, I tell thee small Flounder,
Old as I am and fat, I durst yet wager,
To lay twice the number of such shrimpes as thee,
That they should ne're rise more.

360 *Cal.* Yes with a Pox.

I have not the Court art to kile my lovers,
Nor draw them on with witchcraft, *Circean* charmes,
Nor is it lust, but want, makes me a trader,
And those I clip with, I must like at least,

365 Let *Romes* brave Empresse do her liking,
Stitch. I she's a brave Roman dame indeed.

Hem. And those Mad-dames are the best doers
Stitch.

Cal. *Calphurnia* loathes varietie of men,
370 Times big bone Animalls so apt to please,
Th' Empresse will whets not my appetite,
Besides you know I'me not for durance,
Wanting the daily visits of best Doctors,
To make me broths of dissolv'd Pearle and Amber,
375 Which well considered will not quit the cost,
She won the wager, I am glad I lost.

Bawd. Glad I have lost,
Let me come to her, Ile claw you Minkes, glad
I have lost, and which goes nearest my heart ;
380 To raile, and none to raile against but tall
Proper and goodly able men, calling -

Them big-bond Animals, O blasphemy.

Why Phisgig ; must I keepe thee rich in cloathes,

To want that everpleasing sweet,

385 Hony, and Sugar candy delight ; which the
Bravest high spirited glistering Ladies,
(Such as make Punies of their pettie Lords)
Account their heaven, their onely happinesse,
Never but discontented when they are

390 Out of Action ; and are you defective now ;
Fallen out (forsooth) with the felicitie
You shu'd take in man ; O most absurd,
Not to be suffer'd, utter'd, nor indur'd,
It is intollerable ; it is, it is, it is.

395 Thou muddy minded piece of mischiefe it is.

St. Hem, Mistris, here comes our fellow Pander
The Lord *Saufellus*.

Hem All of a house, but not all fellowes *Stitch*,
And yet we hope to be Sir Panders ; nay since
400 Great-ones be of that profession, and thrive so by it,
It cannot chuse but be a brave profession.

St. Oh, tis a good,
A goodly brave profession ; 'tis the best,
Best streame to fish in, be ne'r so impious,
405 *Gold stiles the royall villaine vertuous*.

Sauf. Here, here my most pretious procurers
Downe, and adore our royall Empresse,
And me the messenger of these glad tidings ;
Proud is her highnesse of the wager wonne,
410 Yet scorning the advantage of the losse
Trebley returns your owne, with a reward,
And signe of her high favour ever after.

Ba. I hope her mightinesse receiv'd content,
And will make bold with my poore house hereafter.
415 *Sauf.* Yes, with your house a little bold her yet,

Silius.

Silius comes hither straight brought by his friends
Valens and *Proculus*, your best wills worke,
 To make him serve her pleasure.

Ba. Pleasure her,

420 What ? *Silius* a private gentleman of *Rome*
 And be so grosse as not to pleasure her.
 Which of you gallants wu'd not pleasure an
 Emp'resse ; that a man should be so very a sot
 As not to, Oh 'twere abominable.

425 *Sauf* : But hee's a man of precise abstinence,
 And hardly will be drawne by any woman.

Ba. Hoy day ; not drawne by woman sayd you,
 If he come here, he shall be hang'd and drawne,
 And dry drawne to ; not drawne by a woman !

430 Gogs nigs that's fine ifaith.

Sauf. See, here they come prepar'd ; I must withdraw
 For a more apt imployment, shew your skills,
Women through lust and Hell will worke their wills.

Exit.

435 *Enter Silius, Valens, Proculus.*

Val. Come Sir, wee'l enter you.

Sil. Most certaine

Into the divels vaulting schoole ; where lust
 In triumph rides or'e shame and innocence,

440 Am I not in Hell.

Pro. O silly *Silius*.

Cannot a sweet shap't gallant like my selfe,
 Enter the house where *Venus* vestalls live
 But it must needs be Hell, ha, ha, ha.

445 *Ba.* Welcome Princely Spirits,
 Sweet faces, rich cloathes, and exquisite bodies,
 Make you for ever (my most curious clients)

Pruriently

Pruriently, pleasing to the blood of beautie,
Hem and *Stitch* some stooles and cushions quicke.

450 *Sil.* What have you brought me to your Sempsters house.

Ba. These are no idle persons.

Sil. Is this your lusty kindred, sweet pleasure
 Which angles soules to hell, as men hooke fish ;
 I, this is she the bane of all devotion,

455 She whose inticements turnes weake men aside
 From the right way of vertue, throwing em downe
 Into the gulfes of all confusion ;
 From whence me thinks those dreadfull soules I heare
 Now at this instant cursing of your Sex ;

460 Your sinne affected trimings to entice
 Which implicates the wretched mind of man
 Crying with horror 'gainst your impudence.
 O woman, woman, thy bewitching motion,
 Fooles wisdomes, reason, and blinds all devotion.

465 *Ba.* What is the man detracted from his wits tro.

Sil. Out thou devourer up of maiden heads

Ba. Hoy day, I a devourer of maiden heads,
 That (with joy be it spoken) I have not had
 A maidenhead these fiftie yeares.

470 *Vall.* Prethee be not thus bitter unto 'em,
 Poore necessary evils they pleasure us.

Sil. Out on your beastly, your most senselesse pleasures,
 That make you reasonlesse, esteeming best
 Those things delight you most.

475 *Cal.* O, I could stand,
 My lifetime here to heare this *Silius* raile.

Sil. Note but the end of all your lustfull pleasures,
 All breed diseases, griefes, reproaches foule,
 Consumption of the body, and the soule,

480 Engender sorrowes and sotishnesse,
 Forgets all prudence, growes most insolent,

Breeds

Breeds th' Epelepsie that falling evill ;
 Begets murder, makes a man a divell,
 O'rethrowes whole families, confounds the just,
 485 Foisteth in children illigitimate,
 Corrupts all humane sweet societie.
 The various paths of lust are all uneven,
 Her pleasures dreadfull plagues the scourge of heaven.

Enter Emperesse and Saufellus attending with a cap.

490 *Emp.* Our soveraigne good is pleasure unto which
 None can attaine but valiant men and wise.
Sil. Oh. *Sil. fals on his knees.*
Emp. *Silius* thou shalt not fall unlesse I fall,
 Nor rise without me, we love thee *Cajus*
 495 Thou soule of musicke breath, breath and enchant,
Musicke.
 With thy delicious Tones while thus we bend,
 And health our love mirrour of men to thee.

She drinks.

500 *Sil.* Foole that I am, thou hast undone thy selfe,
 Keepe in my vertue or this fiery triall
 Flames thee to Cindars.
Emp. Fill for him, ist prepar'd ?
Sauf. With deepest Art.
 505 *Emp.* Here pledge, and pledge freely, a hearty draught
 (As I began) up witht ; so tis well, this, *Sil. drinks*
 This fayling, pure, precise one now is silenc'd,
 Conveigh him to our bed, Natures delight
 Where when he wakes he may admire and burne
 510 Be mad in love to pleasure free in us.
 Thanks *Valens* and *Proculus*, *Cæsar* dispatcht
 To *Ostia*, wee'l finde fit time to make you

Shine

Shine in glory, all shall finde rich rewards.

Exit Emperesse and Saufellus.

515 *Ba.* May you for ever glister like the Sunne.

Val. Silius y'are snar'd ; and we our wager wonne.

Exit.

*Hoboyes. Enter Emperour, Claudius, Messallina
Narcissus, Pallas, Calistus, Saufellus,*

520 *with attendance.*

Emp. Swift nimble time the season of the yeare
(To offer sacrifice unto the Gods)

Calls us with speed from *Rome* to *Hostia*, in
Which our absence, sweet, deare then my life,

525 We doe implore, use all the carefull meanes
That may preserve that life and happinesse
Thy love assures us ; which if want of health
Should bate thee joy ; *Cæsar* were not himselfe
Disaster, griefes, diseases pale and wan

530 Wu'd make me marble, such is th' affiance,
The strong persuasion of that love I beare
To thee thou starre on earth my onely bliss
Beare record heaven, blesse thou this parting kiss

Exit Emperour, cum suis.

535 *Mess.* Farewell my life, my love, my royall, Foole
Shallow braine fop, dull ignorance adeiu,
The kindest Cuckold woman ever knew.
Saufellus draw nigh,

Now is the wisht for time to crowne delight
540 Turn night to day and day into the night,
Prepare for stirring, Masque, midnight revells
All rare varietie to provoke desire ;
Then haste and fetch those envie Adamants
Rome most admires for foolish chastitie,

545 When we have graspt them here, surfeits riot

Shall

Shall squeeze their spungie vertue into vice.
 If they deny to come, let vengeance fall
 Like to that all devouring thunders flame
 Which fierd, the world, be mercilesse and kill.

550 *Rome* shall take notice, our incensed blood,
 Like to *Medusa's* shall to Serpents turne,
 Poys'ning the Ayre, where locall chastitie
 Claymes least preheminence.

Sauf. Spoke like your selfe beyond thought excellent

555 O it becomes you rarely ; thinke what you are
 All glory drosse is, in comparison
 Of that all rare inestimable worth,
 You truly owe ; all admir'd beautie past
 And that to come with full attractive force

560 Have fixt their lively characters in you.
 Divinest faire ; earth breathes not such another,
 Twere madness longer your delights to smother :
 I'me fierd with joy to see your high blood free.
 Continue with encrease, adde flame to flames.

565 Burne high bright glorious wonder of thy Sex,
 Act what thy thoughts shall prompt too, I in all
 Am onely yours at whose commanding will
 Ile death and horroure wade to save or kill.

Offers to goe.

570 *Mess.* Stay e're you goe resolve us ; what is that
 Stagerites Name, he that last night i'th play
 Did personate the Part of *Troylus*.

Sauf. Menester (glorious Empresse) thats his name.

Mess. Menester how that name works on my blood

575 And like a violent Tyde, swells me with full
 Desire to know the man ; it must be so
 Command him to attend our will to night.

Sauf. Know mightie Queen I by your looks perceiv'd
 [T]he gracefull Actor pleasing to your eyes,

And

580 And therefore already here in court, I
Have prepar'd him.

Mess. Diligent *Saufellus*, Ile to my chamber,
Admit him thither ; be swift in returne,
We long for change to feede on various fruit ;

Exit Sauf.

585 Vp *Messallina* let thy mountaine will
Too long kept downe, fly to thy full desire,
Ile live in pleasure though I burne in fire.

Exit.

Enter Saufellus with a Torch, Menester following.

Sauf. Come, come, come, this way, fie how I sweat,
590 This venery is a stirring busnesse,
Remaine you here, Ile instantly returne.

Exit.

Men. My heart that ne're yet shrank begins to throb,
And my good *Genius* whispers in mine eare
A faire retreat ; I am faire warn'd, and yet
595 I waver doubtfull.

Sauf. Fortunate Actor,
Now let thy best of action to the life
Court *Romes* rare Emp'resse to the height of pleasure,
Muste up all the powers of man in thee
600 To an united strength, prepare a part
To ravish, pleasure winne an Empresse heart,
Look to't, prove active to yeeld full content,
Or else you die, die a most shamefull death
So speed as you shall please.

Exit.

605 *Men.* That's certaine death,
I, I that in *Pompeys*, spacious Theater
Acted the noble vertues of true man,
When the faire piercing lines so much prevail'd,
I felt a sacred flame runne through my braines,
610 And in this Orb of mans circumference,
My selfe at furious war within my selfe,

That

- That in my lifes sweet sequell, I still striv'd
Wrestled with flesh and blood to immitate
The good I then presented, but now, a
615 Coward plague, or else some Fiend rais'd from the
Pit of feare, hath all my goodnesse to a
Period dropt ; and I like chaffe, blowne on this
Wide worlds stage, am now to act my owne part,
Which must be vicious now, lust stung vicious
620 With *Romes* majesticke Empresse, whose command
Strikes dead in the refusall, dead ; a word
That quakes even the most valiant He, though least
Exprest, if by escape I thinke my selfe
Secure in some remote soile, her revenge
625 Will with the selvesame stroake there strike me dead,
'Mong petty emminent persons now tis
Common ; then Princes cannot faile, their Armes
Are long and large, compulsion bids me on
Who ere shall reade my story then shall say
630 'Tis forc'd compulsion, and not rich reward,
No high Court favourers made *Menester* sinne.
* Inchanting earth's temptation is in vaine,
He basely, basely sinnes that sinnes for gaine.
If not for gaine, shall I commit for feare,
635 For feare to die, I must, I will not, keepe
There my minde, and with chast fortitude
O be my barre to this lascivious act,
And cleave me to the Center er'e I yeeld,

Enter Messallina.

- 640 Your pardon glorious Empresse,
Ther's something in me workes so powerfull,

* Alijs largitionis aut spei magnitudine sibi ex necessitate
culpam. Tacit. lib. 11.

I dare not, dare not yeeld to your content.

Mess. How's this, dare not, is that answer for us
Why foole, poore scumme of the Earth do'st know

645 What tis to stop an Empresse loftie will :

Saufellus, within there, a Guard, wee'l learne
You better manners, hoist him on the Racke,

Enter Saufellus and Guard.

To the Racke with him, teare limbe from limbe, dare not ?

650 We will enforce thee wretch.

They put him on the Rack.

Sauf. O dog ; not doe ;

Vp with the Snow ball, melt him, so, so, so.

Mess. Shall our high favours, (equall to base and
655 Mercinare Trulls) prove common put offs,
What say you now Sir.

Men. That I am truly miserable, weake,
And vile not being able to endure
This torment, O let me downe ; my paine, but
660 Not my minde yeelds to your bed, I doe
Consent, consent.

Mess. Ha, ha, doe you so, Sir ;
Let him downe, and let him finde sudaine cure
Command our Docters, feede him hot and high,
665 Pleasur's a Princesse full felicitie.

Exit. Mess.

Men. Mans a weake Bulrush ; all his fortitude
Brittle at best ; witnesse these tenter'd, limbes,
Witnesse the Racke, which teares me from the sight
670 Of sacred vertue ; whose just anger now,
Like a denyed wooer puts me off,
Blushing and despairing ; heaven out of sight
Mans out of heart, all virtues lose their light.

Exeunt omnes.

ACT.

675

ACT. 2. SCENE. I.

*Enter Lepida in her night attire with a Booke and
a lighted Taper.*

Lep. MY servants all are fast 'tis dead of night,
And yet my restlesse senses want their rest ;
680 This was not wont to be, tis wondrous strange
I feare (nor is't unlike) my daughter, my
Most ambitious, irreverent daughter,
Dead to good counsell, now in great *Cæsars*
Absence, most apt for ill ; takes her full flight
685 To the loose life of all licentiousnesse,
Now at this instant wrongs him, and that the
Gods, whose eyes see blackest deeds, doe see and
Abhorre ; and therefore caus'd me thus to wake
From dead resembling sleepe, to pray
690 T'oppose her ill with good, heaven I obay.

*A Bell rings as far off, three Ro-
man dames hnocke within.*

1. Open the doore, O noble *Lepida*
Open the doore.

695 *Lep.* What ill includes this noyse.

2. Open the doore, O save us from the gripes

Knock againe.

Of Rape and Ruine.

Lep. That was a womans voyce most certaine 'twas,
700 I will no longer stay you. *Opens the doore.*

3. O save us from the Rape, death doggs us
At the heeles.

1. Our parents and husbands slaine
In their beds this night, have payd lifes forfeit
705 For our escape.

C.

2. For

2. For whom there is no hope

If shelter'd not under your wings of safetie.

3. She is your daughter that commands this ill.

Lep. Woe is me wretch, accursed be the time

710 That brought her forth ; O may it ever be,

For ever bard the ranke of blessed hours.

Bell rings as neere at hand.

1. Harke, harke, they come, that fatall bell rings their,

Approach ; turne us to Ayre some whirlewind, er'e

715 We perish through spotted whoredome.

Enter Sauf. the two Ruffians, and Baud.

Sauf. O are you here.

Ba. And have we found you out.

O you abominable pictures of

720 Peevish vertue, ye thread bare thin cheek't chastitie,

Ye Puppets.

Lep. I am amaz'd, if from my daughter sent,

Tell me ye frightfull villaines her demand.

Sauf. Them there, whose paltery puling honestie,

725 Merits no favour but a world of mischief,

They must live at Court.

Ba. There to live, and brave.

Hem. To shine in pearle, and gold flow in treasure.

St. Fed with delicious Cates, to swim in pleasure.

730 *Ba.* Tost on the downy beds of dalliance. (breath.

Lep. Peace hell bred hagge stop thy unhallow'd

Sauf. Dispatch, resolve to goe or die. (throat.

Lep. Then die,

Arme you brave *Roman* Dames, Terrestriall stars,

735 Arm'd with faire fortitude resolve to die,

That when y'are gone, I may looke up and see

Your

Your chaste thought starres in the Celestiall spheares ;
Is it not better die then live at court ?

Rackt, torne and tost on proud dishonours wheele,

740 There to be whoor'd, your excellence defil'd,
Rather be free, be free rare spirits for
Succeeding times to wonder at ; spurne, spurne
In contempt of death, at deaths base strife,
To die for vertue is a glorious life.

745 *All.* O blest encouragement.

I. All are so willing, ther's not one of us
Wu'd wish to live, so fairest mind farewell,
Be hold we linke in love, thus arm'd to die,
Strike slaves, mount soules, fly to eternitie. *kild.*

750 *Lep.* Mischievous Monsters, O what have you don.

Ba. Take this, this, and this for me, ye Puppets
Of purity.

*Baud stabs at them with
her knife, and in her go-
ing off, is shut in by Le-*

755 *Lep.* Wu'd you be gone ! *pida.*

Nay you damb'd hell-hagge I'le preserve you safe
Manutius Folio wake, wake from drowsie sleepe.

Exit Lepida.

Ba. How's this, lockt in, what the great divell

760 Will become of me. *Lepida within.*

Lep. Murder murder, what he, *Manutius* awake.

Ba. How she bawles, vengeance stop your throat.

Enter Lepida with her two Servants.

Lep. O see where murder'd chastitie lies slaine,
765 Under my tragicke roofe this fatall night.

Ser. Sad dismall accident.

Lep. Here take this Baud,

She hath a large hand in this impious act
Take, hang her by the heeles then let my dogs,

770 Compell'd through hunger teare, eate her alive,
I must to Court there prosecute the rest.

Exit.

Ser. Remove those bodies I'll take charge of this,
O thou insufferable Bitch Whore, Bawd,
Have you been actor in this bloody Scene?

775 You shall be gnawne with dogges for't, totter'd
And peecemeale torne, you shall you rotten
Stinking tunne of decay'd Letchery you shall.
Yet, I will set thee free, grease me now finely,
Finely ith' Fist, you know the Art, mony
780 Will corrupt, 'tis beggery to be honest.

Ba. Hold ther's my purse, the better part is gold
Performe thy promise, I'll advance thy state
At Court promote thee.

Ser. To weare brave cloathes.

785 *Ba.* Rich, wondrous rich.

Ser. And shall I have a wench.

Ba. A very daintie device, a Springer,
One that shall make thy constitution curvet
And winde about thee like a Skeine of Silke

790 Tickle, tickle, tickle thee my brave bully :

Ser. Sayst thou so, my old motions procurer,
Goe thy wayes — stay — O wonderfull whats that
There betwixt thy teeth, gape.

He gags her.

795 *Ba.* Au, au, au,

Ser. We must be honest here, nay you shall goe
Not to be tickle, tickle, tickl'd, but
To be totter'd with your heeles aloft
To be totter, totter, totter'd my brave Bawd,
800 To be totter'd.

*Exeunt.**Enter*

Messallina

[37]

Enter Messallina.

Mess. Menester, Valens, Proculus, not all
No, not a world of favorites can yeeld
To us that free delight in dalliance which
805 *Silius* gives, he must not live at *Forum*,
Though it be neare at hand 'tis too farre off
Calphurnia.

Enter Calphurnia.

Calph. Your highnesse pleasure.
810 *Mess.* Cause *Cajus, Silius* to be sent for straight,
And let Harmonius Musicks ravishing Ayres
Breath our delight.

Calph. To your accomlisht wish.

Exit, Cal.

Mess. Circle me round you Furies of the night,
815 Dart all your fiery lust-stung Arrowes here.

Musicke.

Here, here, let *Circe* and the *Syrens* charmes,
Pour their enchantments ; Monarch of flames,
Fill with aluring poyson these mine eyes
820 That I may with the mistie soules of men,
And send them tumbling to th'*Acharusian Fen* :
'Twere an all pleasing object unto thee,
Thou great Arck-Ruler of the lowe *Abyse*,
Like to *Cadmæan Semele* I wu'd burne
825 Rather then want this my implor'd desire,
And be consum'd in thunder, smoake, and fire ;
Let petty Queenes dull appetite dread feare,
I'll be my selfe sole pleasures Queene in all.
Ha, what's this ? cease that Musicke there,
830 A suddaine strange and drousie heavinesse
Enchants my tender eyes to close their lights.

Dormit.

Enter

*Enter three Furies with the Arrowes of
Pride, Lust, and Murder.*

- 835 1. From those blew flames burning dimme,
Where blacke soules in sulphure swimme,
Dark infernall Den below,
Lakes of horroure, paine and woe.
2. From dread Thunder smoaking fire,
840 We come, we flye at thy desire.
3. To fire thy mind, lewdly inclind
1. To deeds unjust, murder and lust.
2. Dreaming see, at thee, at thee.
3. Furies dart sinnes potent night
845 1. Sable shafts of endlesse night.

*Eight Furies dance an An-
ticke and depart.*

Messallina awakes.

- Mess.* Furies enough, I'me fully satisfide,
850 A Plurisie of lust runnes through my veines
I could graspe with any.

Enter Silius.

Sil. Me above all.

- Mess.* O the unsounded sea of my delight
855 In thee my *Silius*, tis miraculous,
Ineffable, never to be exprest
By learnings deepest Art.

- Sil.* Glory of Queenes,
Cease to enchant with words that can so charme.
860 *Mess.* And Scarfe about thy neck, my Ivory Arme
Practise upon thy lips the Energie
Of sweet alurements, shoot into thine eyes
Amorous glances stirring dalliance,
Embracements passions, such as shall beget

Perpetuall

865 Perpetuall appetite, that all the gods
 May in beholding emulate our joy,
 Enveloped with pleasures sweetest sweets,
 Ambrosiack Kisses thus. *Kisse.*

Sil. Delicate Nectar.

870 *Mess.* Redoubled thus and thus. *Kisse again double.*

Sil. O I am all Flame,

A scorcht enchanted flame and I shall burne
 To Cinders with delight, debar'd to quench
 Fervour with fervour, violent flame with flames.

875 *Mess.* Thou art too noble a substance to imbrace
 Thy wife *Syllana*, be sudaine, kill her,
 She must not live.

Sil. How?

Mess. Be not ignorant,

880 * That singular alone we must enjoy
 The freedome of thy body undebard
 Least let to pleasure, by this I charme thee. *Kisse.*

Sil. O that delicious melting kisse prevailes;
 Sucks dry the sweetness of a soule distrest,

885 Poysons my blood and braine, and makes me apt
 To doe an outrage I should loathe to name :
 O if I er'e was gracious in your sight, *Sil. kneeles*
 Desist faire beauties abstract, I implore ;
 Spur me not on to murders horrid act

890 Which I shall ever rue ; let it suffise,
 I'me onely yours, never *Syllana*'s more ;
 Sworne a perpetuall exile from her bed,

Exit. Messallina.

Vanisht so soone, how wondrous strange seemes this.

* *Nam in Caium Silium Iuventutis Romanæ pulcherrimum ita exarserat, ut Iuniam Syllanam, nobilem faminam matrimonio ejus exjnraret vacuoque adultero potiretur. Tacit. Lib. 11.*

895

Enter Messallina with a Pistoll.

Mess. Death and destruction satisfie my will
Or take 't in thy bosome, I'me intemperate
Briefly resolve.

Sil. Hold, be not so respectlesse
900 Of him that loves you dearer then his life,
Dreadlesse of death I speake it, what is death?
A bug to scarre th' ignoble cowards minde
The valiant never; did the Fates conspire
And terrible death in the most horrid shape
905 It er'e put on, threat, despaire, and ruine,
Yet it should ne're affright the soule of *Silius*;
Th'impatient sudaine cause of discontent
In your rare worth, onely torments me more
Then were I rack't upon *Ixions* wheele
910 To perpetuities; be gracious then
To him that does repent, confesse his errour,
Seal't with this kisse.

Mess. Did *Lucius Cataline*
Spare wife nor childe, for *Orestillas* love,
915 And must our high borne favours be slighted
Put off with bare perswasives.

Sil. Oh be pleas'd.

Mess. Let mighty Queenes, majestick eminence
In the high pitch of their ambition learne
920 Of us to hate corivalls in their love
Trampling the Torch of *Hymenæall* rites
Vnder their feete.

Sil. The attractive force
Of those amazing eyes those glorious lights
925 Fixt in the Firmament of your sweet face
Shall make me undergoe the worst of ill,

Though

Though with the forfeiture of life I hazard
A death more terrible than *Alcides* was.

- Mess.* I love thee now, like to a burning glasse
930 Th' ast fier'd afresh th' affection of my minde
More violent then ever ; be gone, be gone,
Hasten *Syllanas* death then come to Court,
There the Emperiall Diadem of *Rome*
Dreadlesse of *Cæsar* shall impale thy Front.
935 * Like *Iove* and *Iuno* in a nuptiall knot,
Wee'l knit the bands of *Hymen*, and out shine
The glorious Tapers of the golden Sunne,
Whirle through the stately streets of spacious *Rome*
Like glistring *Phaeton* in an Orient chaire.
940 That with the bare report, swift fame shall strike
Amazement through the world Monarchall state
All-gazing eyes fixt on our rich attire
Languish in dreames our stately state admire.
Sil. Ravisht in thought panting amaz'd I stand
945 At your Harmonious speech Emphaticall.
Ambitious blood, like to the Bankes of *Nyle*
Oreflowes this Orbe of mans circumference,
And points my actions thus their way to ill
Aspiring Armes *Lavolto* when they kill.

950

*Exit Sil. Presenting
his naked Poniard.*

- Goe the influence of whose power starres,
Mounts thy imperiall lot to set aloft
On the high Orbe of our affection,
955 Like the bright rising orientall Sun,
When it salutes *Aurora* ; 'bove the choice

* *Messallina nomen matrimonij cum Cajo Silio concupivit ; ob magnitudinem infamiae ; cujus apud prodigos novissima voluptas est Tacit.*

Of five and twentie *Love*-like Ganimends,
 Who charm'd, and wrapt in wanton dalliance,
 Live fir'd with admiration ; O pleasing,
 960 More pleasing sweet to my insate desire,
 Then was to *Synon Illions* loftie fire.

Mess. Shall *Messallina* in her flourishing youth
 Like dull and tame, Nobilitie live coopt,
 Confin'd and mew'd up singular to one ;
 965 No *Caesar* no, t'were fooles Philosophy,
 And I abjure't ; there is no musick in't,
 Those of our Sex the minds of sots containe
 And are of no brave spirits that deny
 Pleasure, the heaven of my Idolatry.

970

Enter Saufellus and Lepida.

Lep. Plagues yet unfelt light on thee mischievous
 Slave, villane, dog, murderer rot as thou livest.

Mess. Mother the cause of your distemperature.

Lep. Murder in thee, in thee thou wicked Impe
 975 And that thy substitute by the ordain'd
 Gainst the most noble mindes of chastitie,
 Whose innocent blood like th' Atlantick sea
 Lookes red with murder ; and cries out to heaven
 For justice and revenge ; O hadst thou first
 980 Then beene the Author of so foule a fact
 Made thy owne passage, happy woman I.

Mess. Beldame give or'e, or Ile disclaime all smoothnesse,
 Ther's nothing done that's wisht undone by us.

Lep. Ist even so, then too too ill farewell
 985 Truths story shall relate to after times
 My love to thee ; hate to thy desp'rate crimes.

Mess.

Mess. Pish to your chamber dotard be advis'd.

Sauf. Goe and a mischiefe dambe you, and all your
Pittifull Sex.

990 *Mess.* We doe commend thy care,
Joy 'ith performance of our strict command,
Which shall from hence forth stile thee favorite
To us, that will command thy fortunes rise.

Sauf. And all those fortunes, favours, life and all,
995 Shall like an *Atlas* undergoe the weight
Of your imperious will, be it to th' death
Of Parents, massacre of all my kine,
To exceede the divell, act any sinne.

Mess. For which we thus enseame thee,

Kisses him.

1000 *Sauf.* O *Dulce*,

Divinest goddesse whom my soule adores,
Multiply that sweet touch of rare delight,
And from the Garden of *Hesperides*,
Those delicate delicious rubie lips,

1005 Make me immortall, quench, quench the burning heat
Which like th' immoderate thirst of *Tantalus*,
(Scorching the medowes of my solid flesh)
Dries up the Rivers of my crimson blood,
And as the gaping tongue tide earth for raine
1010 Opens her griefe, so in my lookes behold,
View my distresse ; make me to live or die.

Mess. Graspe me *Saufellus* ; lets have a sprightly dance,
Swift footing apts my blood for dalliance.

Sauf. Musicke, rich musicke there ; O that my skill
1015 Could transcend mortall.

Mess. Tush : wee'l accept thy will.

Dance a Coranto.

Enter.

*Enter Lepida.**Sauf.* What divell sends her back,1020 *Mess.* Pish minde her not.

Lep. Nature constraines me back, what though dismai'd
 Shall I desist, O then shees lost for ever,
 No ; I will bend with fairest faire demeane.
 To save her soule I'll make my foot my head,
 1025 Mothers were Monsters else not truly bred,
 Give my speech once more freedome.

Mess. You'll force us through unmannerly exclames
 To rest the strictnesse of our dread command

Lep. I come not bent with wrath, but to implore
 1030 On bended knees, with penitentiall teares,
 T'appease the Gods for thy full Sea of sinne,
 Such is a mother's love, and such is mine ;
 Prove thou my like, thy soule shall never fall
 Into those damned sinnes it nourisheth ;
 1035 Which like a ponderous *Argosy* full fraught,
 Cuft on the mountaine top of some bigge wave,
 In the descent, falls on the fearefull Rock
 And splits in peeces irrecoverable,
 So fatall death upon the wings of night
 1040 Whirles the blacke soule in her triumphant Car
 To the *Tartarian* vales ; where crown'd in flames,
 Tumbling descend to dreadfull *Orcus* Cell,
 That mercilesse pit of bottomlesse despaire,
 To fry in those blew flames of feare for ever,
 1045 In never ending endlesse paine for ever.
 If mothers teares were e're of force to move,
 Let these of mine take place ; strive to repent,
 Think what a horrid thing it is to see

There

There is feare above us ; feare still beneath us,

1050 *Feare round about, and yet no feare within us.*

Mess. I doe begin to melt.

Lep. Heavens blessings on thee.

Sauf. And hells curse on thee ; tis high time to speak,

O be your selfe divinest faire on earth,

1055 This idle superstitious lecturing

Proceeds of malice ; what ? to make you childe

And slave to her desires.

Lep. O impious devill.

Mess. No more, live and be thankfull.

1060

Exit Mess. and Saufel.

Lep. Ha, howes that ?

Live and be thankfull ; am I then contemn'd

Is all my labour in a moment lost.

Live and be thankfull ; sure I doe but dreame,

1065 It cannot be, nature against it selfe

Should so rebell ; O foole, foole that I am

With vaine hope thus to play the flatterer.

Mors ærumnarum quies ; mors omnibus finis.

Dissolve the glassie pearles of mine eyes,

1070 That *Niobe*-like I may consume in teares,

And nevermore behold day light agen.

Pish, all this is but talke ; and talke I must,

Fly from me soule and turne my earth to dust.

Must I then live to see my daughters shame,

1075 Crack, crack poore heart ; sterne death let fly thy dart,

Send my sad soule to the *Elizium* shades

That there it might drink *Lethe*, and forget

It ever liv'd in this mortallitie.

Parcæ dispatch ; when, when I say ; no, no,

1080

Falls distracted.

Then will I act *Medeas* murd'ring part

Vpon my staine of blood ; that gods and men

May sit and laugh, and plaudite my revenge.

Ye

Ye dismall sisters of the fatall night,
 1085 Rise, rise, and dance hells roundelaies for joy,
Rhamnusia finds imployment for you all.
 Follow, follow, follow, follow, follow.
 Note with your grim aspects the courts of Kings,
 See how the politicke statesman for his ends,
 1090 Sits hammering mischiefe ; and how Toad-like swels
 Bombaste with treasons riches ; see ther's lust,
 Brave Madam, lust temptations painted whore
 Divinely worshipt by the bastard brood
 Of knaves and fooles.
 1095 Ye dread and irefull furies i't not true.
 Why then imploy your burning whips of steele,
 Lash with eternall lashes, there, there, there,
 Excellent Furies how you doe excell,
 So, so, so, so, tis holy day in hell.

1100 *Syllana drawn out upon a Bed as sleeping, to whom
 Silius with a light Torch enters.*

Sil. O what a fiery combate feelles my soule,
 The *Genius* good and bad that waights on man,
 Shakes natures frame, trembles this Microcosme,
 1105 There vertue pleads for sleeping innocence,
 For love, true love, chast thoughts, and vertuous acts
 Which entertain'd within a constant brest
 Makes man triumphant crown'd immortall blest.
 But O the pondrous plummets of blacke vice,
 1110 Suppresse those pure imaginations,
 Which breake like lightning onely for a flash,
 Wanting the true materiall to impell,
 And to continue this false clocke of life
 From its exorbitant course ; such like are
 1115 Majesticke title, and the Empresse,

That

That unpeer'd excellence, bewitching dalliance,
Soule of temptation sweete, so charmes all sense,
Vertue I loath, like politick states whose good
Depends on ill, worke their attempts in blood.

1120 Syl. O my affrighted soule art thou there sweet ?

Then am I safe ; t'was but a dreame I see,
A waking walking in my sleepe wherein,
Me thought I saw neare to a River side,
Two lovely Turtles sit, like morne in May,
1125 Adorn'd with all the glories of the Spring,
Their loves to either seem'd to sympathize,
And with such sober chastitie connex,
That their two hearts (as true loves ever should,
Like fire and heate inseparate a like)

1130 Shew'd like the splendor of a heart that liv'd
In sacred flames ; in unextinguisht flames
Of chast desires, free from the tainted spot
Of petulent dalliance, till temptations snare
Appear'd *Parthenop* like ; that with her charmes

1135 Work't so effectuall on the Turtle Male,
He (like *Troy's* firebrand, falsly that forsooke
Vnpitied *Oenon*) not alone content,
Alone forlorne, t'abjure his lovely mate,
But back return'd his black intents to further,
1140 And to the height of lust he added murther.
The very thought seem'd daggers to my brest,
That with the feare I wakt.

Sil. To sleepe thy last.

Presents his lomard to her.

1145 Syl. Light of my life how's that ?

Sil. Briefly this ;

I'll be your dreames expositor thou must die ;
Die by this hand, this fatall instrument

Nor

Nor must I seeme to yeeld a slave to pittie.

1150 *Sil.* Sure, sure I dreame, dreame still, if not tell, O
Tell me my better selfe, whose killing words,
Wounds crueller then death : what cause, what offence,
What ill desert in me, that wrong'd you never,
The Gods me witnesse beare.

1155 *Sil.* Tis for no fault sustain'd on thy behalfe,
No ; tis the Empresse Doome.

Syl. She ; nay then.

Sil. 'This shee ; that modell of creation,
Must through thy death participate alone
1160 All that is man in me ; And to that end
With sweetest concord of discording parts,
Out sings the *Syrens*, fiers this mansion
With haut, Ambition, *Romes* imperiall crowne,
And therefore I must kill ; or else foregoe
1165 All those bright shining glories, which what foole
Would be so nice.

Syl. Is there then no hope,
No comfort, no remorse ; must I depart
Where I shall never see thy face agen,
1170 Never behold those joyes, which *Hymens* Rites
Were wont to crowne with true loves flames,
Is there no remedy.

Farewell vaine world, my life is such a toy,
I will not wish to live, t'abate thee joy.
1175 Yet e're I goe, grant this one courtesie,
'Tis the last kindnesse you shall ever give,
Place gainst my heart thy deadly pointed steele,
So, now farewell ; death is for me most meet,
Strike sure and home, I doe forgive thee sweet.

1180 *Sil.* Bravely resolv'd, and I'll performe thy will

As bravely thus,

*Pretending a violent stab he
flings away the Poniard.*

Not

Not to be Emp'rour of the spacious earth,
Live, live *Syllana* free.

1185 *Syl.* Ist possible,
Twixt feare and hope strucke through with deepe amaze
I waver doubtfull.

Sil. Cease admiration.

And be sure of this, though I must confesse

1190 I hither came Arm'd with a full intent
To take thy life, yet *Silius* ne'r shall adde
To his libidinous life, a murderers name.
Of ills, 'tis ever best, the worst to shunne,
By murders murderers souls are oft undone ;

1195 I wish I were farre better than I am,
* But since without my most assured ruine
It cannot be ; being so farre ingag'd
Into the Empresse favour, I must on
Make use of some devise cloakt with deceit,
1200 That farre beyond perswasion may enforce
Thy deaths beleefe.

Syl. Kill, O kill me rather.

Be not far crueller to thy selfe then death
To put to hazard on so slight a ground

1205 Thy life for mine ; I know the Emp'resse
That if least notice of my life she heare,
Not irefull *Nemesis* in swift revenge
Could be more speedy.

Sil. Pish, I will so worke

1210 You shall not neede to feare, therefore as I,
At court with my continuance must make way

* *Neque Silius flagitii aut periculi nescius erat ; sed certo si abnueret exitio, & nonnulla fallendi spe, simul magnis pramiis, opperiri futura, & præsentiis frui pro solatio habebat, Tacit.*

To cleare suspect ; use you the matter so
 Among your noble Family whereby
Arges ey'd *Envie* descrie me not ; I

1215 Shall securely live dreadlesse of danger.

Syl. Though you had struck my body full of woundds
 And I survive, my fierce revenge should be
 Good against ill, how to preserve your life.

Sil. Th'art the true Emblem of a perfect wife,
 1220 For whose rare vertue, from my soule I wish
 All husbands were the same, in that right way
 A perfect husband truly ought to be.
 Which since in me (ordain'd by powerfull Fate)
 Never to be avoyded backward runnes,

1225 Let my recursion from thy mind expell,
 That Serpent foe to life ; sad griefes extreame.
 As grossely vaine in being remedillesse, and
 Therefore shunne it, patient conjuence
 Is the calme of trouble, best cure gainst care,

1230 Gives greatnesse best content in meane estate.
Why doe I then (like Godlesse villains) tell,
The way t'heaven, yet lead the path to hell.
Mindes that will mount into superiour state,
Climbe mischiefes Ladder ; vertuous actions hate.

1235 Yet ist not so with *Silius* ; I doe love
 Those vertues in another, though I want
 The like performance ; nor shall my high ayme,
 Rais'd on advancements top doe me more good,
 Then th'injoyning free from the act of blood.

1240 But I protract delay, ther's danger in't ;
Videō meliora, proboque, deteriora Sequor.
 Never was man so infinitely
 Bewitcht ; charm'd, and enchanted as is *Caius*
Silius, to leave a constant wife ; farewell,

1245 We must part.

Syl. Must, must, O wretched word of
Mischievous command ; must we part.

Sil. We must ; nay prethee weepe not sweet,

Syl. Blessings like drops of raine shower on thy soule,
1250 O that I might part dying in thine armes.

Sil. Farewell.

Syl. Farewell.

Sil. Teares want their remedy,
There is no striving, gainst our destinie.

1255

Exeunt.

ACT. 3. SCENE. 1.

Enter Annaeus Mela.

Mela.

1260 **M**Y brother gone to exile and I here,
So neare the Empresse Court, the Court of shame,
Where mischiefs houely breed ; how strange seemes
this,

I have a will to follow, yet I want
My wills performance ; not that I am sicke,
1265 Wanting, or limbes, or libertie ; which begets
More strange immaginations, yet all I can,
Comes short to guesse th'inscrutable meaning
That thus deteines me here, in vaine, in vaine,
The more I strive my senses I confound,
1270 Then give it o're, salute thy mother earth.

Lies down

And

And rest, rest while thy poore distracted minde
 Vpon the wings of thought takes flight and flie
 Fly to the Iland of *Corcyra* there,
 1275 Learne the soules comfort sweete Philosophy,
 What infinite good 'tis to contemplate heaven,
 For to that end the life of man is given.

Enter Montanus in disguise.

Mon. Prove prosperous my designe upon this
 1280 Brother to the banisht *Seneca*,
 Are you cougth Sir?

*Snatcheth Mela's Sword
 from behind him.*

Mel. Ha, villaine what art thou.
 1285 *Mon.* A murderer and villaine, O Sir,
 'Tis the best thriving trade and best imployd
 'Gainst such malevolent Satyrists as you.
 You that are all for vertue, a meere word,
 When indeede ther's no such thing; say there be
 1290 None truly loves it but dies beggerly.

Mel. Slave, rather dispatch me than torment my soule
 With thy envenom'd scoffes 'gainst that that is
 Most rare, most excellent.

Mon. A little more,
 1295 And then I'le speede you, excellent Ladies
 Cannot disable with a charming spell,
 (A trick of wit, a humour that they have)
 Husbands they not affect; making free way
 For *Atlas* backs to leape their lovely lappes,
 1300 But your Satyricall censure straight must passe,
 Th'ones pride's scabd-hammd Rascalls, and the other
 Mischiefes veneriall Trulls; these are fine tearmes,
 Pray who made you a censurer of manners.

Mel.

Mel. O slave,

1305 *Mon.* T'upbraid such eminent persons
What madnesse durst the like, deserv'st not death,
Yes, yet your life is safe, passe but your vow
T'embrace a beautie I shall bring you to,
(More delicate then was the *Spartan* Queene)

1310 One that shall pay large tribute night by night,
Give thee thy weight in gold for each delight.

Mel. Not I, I yeeld my body mercenary slave
To lust and lucre, no, though mines of gold
She could give oftner then those whorish looks

1315 Women take pride in, to bewitch mens soules ;
First parch't to Cinders, 'gainst the burning Zone,
Be buried quicke ; all torments possible,
(Stretcht on the Tenters of invention)
I gladly would (most willingly) endure

1320 E're thy soule killing proffers enters here.

Mon. No ?

Mel. Pish, for my death, ther's too much man in me
To feare so sleight a scratch ; let it come,
I will no budg a foote ; strike faire and home,

1325 *Tis better die then live to live unjust,*
Slave to th' unsounded Sea of womans lust.

Mon. Are you so confident, have at you Sir,

*Offers to runne at him and
flings downe the Weapon.*

1330 Your love, your love, 'tis onely that I seeke
I am no villaine, though I seem'd in show
But one that fearefull in these dangerous times
For to retaine a friend ; led on by hope
Of your faire life, whom envie in your foes
1335 Reports no lesse of ; caus'd me through disguise,
To put to tryall your unvalued worth,

Which beyond man I find of such pure mold,
Sun-like your vertues outshine purest gold.

Mel. Beleeve me Sir ther's no such thing in me
1340 Worthy your least Encomium.

Men. But there is
A miracle, which but in me in part,
Through friendships deare respect incorporate.
And you shall binde me everlastingly
1345 To blesse the houre we met.

Mel. As I am slow,
To friendships confidence (as tis requisite
For ev'ry one, and yet once enter'd in
Affect stabilitie, judge you the same,
1350 A man that truly sensative well knowes,
Vertue to be but meerely adjective ;
Wanting that soveraigne sweetnesse which directs
The mind to honest Actions ; and therefore,
As friendship joynes with vertue ; truly is,
1355 The lover of love ; each true friends propertie,
By that true blessing, sundry, wills connexion
Our hearts as hands unite, dilate affection,
That th'enlarge length, orbicular may spread
And ne'r finde end.

1360 *Mon.* So am I yours

Mel. You mine.

Mon. Vnparallel'd is that love where friends combine.

Enter Valens, Proculus, Menester.

Here comes the top top gallants of the time.

1365 *Mel.* The fooles of the time ; how are we bound to heaven
Exempt the bondage of these Palace Rats,
These, whose delights are last provocatives.

Mon

Mon. Let us withdraw, and seeme to minde them not

Men. Was men er'e blest with that excesse of joy

1370 Equall to ours ; to us that feele no want

Of high court favours lifes licentiousnesse ;

Kings have their cares, and in their highest state,

Want those free pleasures crownes us fortunate.

Val. O happy state.

1375 *Mel.* Glorious slave. _____

Aside.

Val. Thrice happy,

I'de not change Earth for *Ioves* felicitie.

Pro. Nor I, who wu'd, what inconsiderate he

For such a Mistris as the Emp'resse

1380 Wu'd be so dull, as not make use of Art,

Forcing the bodies joviall able might,

To yeeld her expectation full delight.

Mon. Libidnious Goate. _____

Aside.

Val. I'de do it, though *Phaeton* like,

1385 The hot receipt should fire this Fabrick.

Men. When I commemorate her excellence,

How lavish lovely dalliance free proceedes

From that raritie of perfection, O

How I'm ravisht ; ravisht in thought as well,

1390 As with the Act ; which breeds no wonder though

High *Iove* transhap't him to *Amphitrio*

To taste the pleasure of *Alcmenas* bed ;

Needs must such prodigall sweets mad thoughts of

Men ; when power t'attract the Gods.

1395 *Mel.* Impious Letchers _____

Aside.

Mon. Silence, marke the event. _____

Aside

Val. I that know none more worthy then my selfe

Of true regard and worth ; would be resolv'd

What's he, that beares the valliant minde of man

1400 Dares for his mightie sove raigne Mistris more

Then Vrcius Valens.

Pro. That dare I, I dare ;

Fond that thou art to question such a toy,

Were thy power equall to thy daring pride,

1405 *Proculus* dares doe more.

Men. Nor thou, nor he,

Not *Valens* nor *Proculus* though you both,

Both durst as much as he durst cuckold *Iove*

Menester would transcend you.

1410 *Val.* That our bloods decide.

*All draw, exposed to a
Triple fight round.*

Pro. A Spirit of Valour.

Men. Let it come.

1415 *Enter Messallina and Saufellus above.*

Mess. What killing objects, this presents our eyes,

Our Favorites turn'd fighters must not be,

Descend *Saufellus*, know the cause, wee'll follow.

Val. Stand all so firme, this Seale expresse my rage.

1420 *Pro.* Mine this, }

Men. This mine }

Wound each other.

Enter Saufellus.

Sauf. Hold, hold, y're wounded all ;

As you'll incurre our Emp'resse deepe displeasure

1425 Hold, and resolve why thus you have expos'd

Your lives to danger.

Enter Empresse.

Mess. Whence proceeds this fray.

Men. From that concerne the credits of best men

Which

1430 Which of us three in our affections priz'd
Your excellence most.

Mess. And was that the cause ?

Wee doe embrace and pretiously account
The vigour of your loves ; so you no more

1435 So full of spight, let prosecute your hate.
With the like hardy daring, twill not please.
We should esteeme your jarres ridiculous
Issuing from brainlesse wit discern'd in others.
And as 'tis common to our eminent Sex,

1440 Triumph in state, and glory in your falls ;
Yet th' operation of your loves so workes,
That it scruze ours to judge the contrary.
Dry up your wounds with care ; then come to court
Love shall entrance your soules ; prepare for sport.

1445 *Exit Messallina and Saufel.*

Val. Ile study Art in love for recompence.

Pro. My love shall mount.

Men. Mine yeeld profuse expence.

Excunt Favorites.

1450 *Mon.* Here was a storme of mischiefe soone
blowne or'e,

Mel. 'Twas to preserve them for a wicked life,
But since these complices are gon that are
Not worth least memory ; behold this booke,

1455 Set my deare friend, and I will read to thee
Of that high Majestie puissant *Ens*,
From whom we have our being, life, and soule,
Which should dull flintie inconsiderate man,
When with black deeds 'ith myrie bog of sinne,
1460 Beast like he wallowes ; considers right,
Thinke on his present state (whence came and must)
Then on that terrible Thunderer that sees,

His

His actions kick at heaven ; he then no more
Would dare t'offend his Maker, but with teares,

1465 Lament his soules pollution, which doth give
Matter, by which mens soules immortall live,
But through an unfrequented heaviness
I am prevented.

Mon. Repose a while I'll reade.

1470 *Enter Empresse and Saufellus above.*

Emp. Make us celestial happy with thy newes,
Art thou sure 'tis he.

Sauf. 'Tis, 'tis *Montanus*,
Sure as I live, I tooke full view of him

1475 Before and after the fight ; then with drawne
Within yon grove of Oakes.

Emp. My hearts on fire
To clip him ; fly swift as thought *Saufellus*
Conduct him to our Paradice of joy,

1480 If he escape desire then confound us,
We onely view'd him once, but then the time
Crostr our desires ; blest opportunitie
That makes our happinesse a very heav'n
Wee'l build an Altar, and erect a shrine

1485 That shall eternize thee for this ; wer't my brother
Resembled him we so intirely love,
Wee'd force him ravish pleasure if not kill
Be a *Symiramis* to sate our will.

Enter Saufellus.

1490 *Sauf.* Haile to *Montanus*.

Mon. Sir the like to you.

Sauf. 'Tis th' *Emp'resse* pleasure you attend her will.

Mon.

Mon. Know you the cause.

Sauf. Delay not with demands th' are frivolous

1495 Will you along.

Mon. Your favour sir a while ;

I'll but awake my friend, (So-ho) sleepy still,

Pray heaven this heaviness imports no harme.

Exeunt.

1500 *Mel.* How's this, my friend departed, I alone,

I know not what to thinke, 'tis very strange,

He thus unawaked would leave me ; sure he striv'd,

Yet I so fast, that he no doubt was loath

To break my rest ; 'tis so, and some chiefe cause

1505 Which I might well dispence with drew him hence.

I'll to his fathers house, there certaine finde

Or heare of him.

Exit.

Hoboyes. A Banquet, to it Montanus is usher'd in state

by Saufellus and others, who placing him de-

1510 *part ; Hoboyes cease, and solemne*

Musicke plays during

his speech.

Mon. O Potent lust, thou that hast power to make

The valiant and the wise, coward, and foole,

1515 I'me not so dull, but that I know thee now.

Now comprehend why Musicke breathes delight,

And why this banquet ; why both presents themselves

To be my slaves ; 'Tis to make me a slave

To lust, that deadly potion of the soule,

1520 * Whose poyson quaff, kills body and the soule.

* *Ne Trauli quidem Montano equitis Romani, defensio rec[epta] est, ac modesta juventa, sed corpore insigni, accitus ultro noctemq; intra unam a Messallina proturbatus erat, paribus lasciviis ad cupidinem & fastidio. Tacit.*

Thats

That's the maine end of these harmonious straines,
 These stirring meates, which unto me appeare,
 Like those blew flames the damned taste in hell.

Enter Emperesse by degrees, gazing at him.

1525 Celestiall Angels guard me, now she comes,
 And I so ill prepar'd, I, know not what,
 A suddaine earthquake trembles natures frame,
 Which like a falling Pine tree to and fro,
 Vncertaine where to fall, it tottering stands.

1530 She's most bewitching sweet, I feare, I feare,
 She will ore come ; now I begin to burne,
 To scorch, like to the coales of *Etna* ; strike
 Me eternall winter with thy frosts ; quench
 Quench this hot combustion in my blood,

1535 And if I needs must fall, O sacred powers
 Benumbe my senses so that I may taste
 No sweetnesse in the Act, yeeld no delight.

Emp. Thus long with admiration we have stood
 To gaze on thy perfections, pretious shape

1540 Why dost thou shake ? why stare ? as rapt in wonder
 Why dumbe ? or think'st thy happinesse a dreame
 This kisse confirme thee ours ; entrance thy soule
 To stirre loves-panting appetite while thus
 We clip thee in our Armes, embrace thee thus.

1545 *Mon.* O —

Emp. That's loves Alarum, to bed, to bed,
 To *Venus* field, there combate for loves treasure
 Swimme in excesse of joy, there ravish pleasure.

Exeunt.

Enter

1550

Enter Mela.

To thee faire fortune in divinest sense,
 In whom all excellence inclusive is,
 To that high power, I invoke impore.
 If pleas'd, direct where I may finde my friend,
 1555 Fill when, I fitly may assimulate
 The restlesse acquiescence of my minde,
 To the perpetuall motion of a wheele.
 That by the force of water restlesse turnes
 The vigour of the torrent left unstopt.
 1560 So the strang absence of my noble friend,
 Suffers th'insulting torrent of sad grieve,
 (Tyranicke-like upon the wheele of sense)
 To racke my restlesse rest, which I must beare,
 'Tis vaine to strive 'gainst sorrowes streame to swim,
 1565 *Man hath no power on grieve, grieve power on him ;*
 What's he declines his visage to the ground,
 Is't not my friend ? tis he, happily met.

Enter Montanus dejected in countenance.

Mon. Hell-cat no more, no more of thy imbrace,
 1570 Findest thou my body enemy to lust
 And yet agen attempts me.

Mel. How's this ?

Mon. Keepe off insatiate Empresse, I'le no more,
 Poyson of Monsters, the blood of *Nessas*
 1575 Damme up thy *Curtian*-gulph-like appetite ;
 May furies fright thy whorish fortitude
 Dancing *Lavolto's* in the very act
 And dambe you.

Mel. Save him divine assistance,

Or

1580 For he's lost ; mistake not I'me thy friend

Mon. Tis so, and I am happily mistooke,
Thy pardon worthy friend, it was my feare
Of further ill ; made me forget my selfe
Distracted sense, as well it might, O ther's

1585 A strange deede past.

Mel. I fully comprehend,

By that distemper lately in your blood.
'Twas musicks sweetest concord to my soule,
To heare with what a cold performance

1590 Th'act was wrested from you, happy prevention,
How like a doubtfull battle it hath made
The victory more joyfull ; which had else,
Had you replenisht those soule-killing sweets,
No meanes for safetie then, but fall you must,

1595 A prey to slaughter, or a slave to lust.

But since with heavens prevention you are free,
Fly *Rome* ; the impious maladies she breeds,
Experience tells, are hookes to catch at soules.
Therefore to be avoyded, ther's no trust

1600 To trust to stay, where such infection raignes.

Who is at all times one ; in that right way
Man ought to be, being circumvolv'd mong those,
That by the Plummets of licentious will
Measure their vertues ; 'tis impossible.

1605 The scholler, He, in whom there doth consist

Honest conditions, and within whose heart
Ther's many vertues make their residence,
Though with night watchings at his study sits,
Wasting his vitall spirits (not unlike

1610 His burning Tapor) to illuminate

Others the way that leads to the direct ;
From superficial to essential joy,
Even he, ill company corrupts, directs

To the indirect ; so that some one vice
 1615 Robs him of all his vertue : The Souldier
 That magnanimious resolution,
 He that leaves nothing unattempted
 May tend to the honour of his countrey,
 Ill company poysons with selfe conceit,
 1620 Cankers with envie ; till on the racke of
 Haute ambition stretcht, like stubble set
 On fire he prove a flame.
 And therefore to prevent us, gainst all ill,
 Wisdome commands our absence, truly knowes,

1625 *Man at the best, his power to doe is little*
His state obnoxious, at the best most brittle.

Mon. Your counsell points my actions their true way
 To immortalitie, forewarnes to flye,
 The dire event of future Tragedy
 1630 Which as the flame, the fire of force must follow
 By th'Emp'resse bloody project ; that Monster
 In nature, in this the Emperours absence,
 Mounts on the highest Spyre of infamy,
 Resolves to joyne in *Hymeneall* bands
 1635 With *Cajus Silius* which quaint vallanie,
 To put in speedy practise, he last night
 Ariv'd at Court,

Mel. There let their impudence,
 For glassie glories of Monorcall state
 1640 Ingender sinne with sinne, flatter their hopes,
 While our soules fixt on contemplation
 Make for the Ile of *Corce*, (come my deare
 Friend there on the Tyrhen shore wee'l practise
Mans sole perfection to be heavenly wise.

1645

Exeunt.

ACT.

ACT. 4. SCENE. I.

*Enter Empresse, Silius, Virgilianus, Calphurnianus,
Valens, Proculus, Menester and Saufellus
with attendants.*

1650 *Sil.* **Y**Our Excellence that too, too gloriously
 Resembles your rare Sex ; succeeding times
 Shall to the end of time, gaze and admire,
 Wonder at your high prudence, which to the
 Combination of our Nuptials, hath charm'd
 1655 * Dull *Casar* to a free consent, behold ;

*Shewes the confirmation
of the marriage.*

There you whose loves doe ever bind me yours
 May view my fortunes like a valley rise
 1660 Above those hills that will admit no clouds,
 Ther's a full grant where in you may discern
 My glories in this admirable Iemme
Val. 'Tis a fit bound unto your boundlesse glory,
Men. Not *Ninus*,
 1665 Was e're more dull, more easily entrap
 Then *Romes* ridiculous Em'prou *Claudius*.
Vir. Rediculous indeed here 'tis confirm'd.
Emp. Reade it *Virgilianus*.
Vir. The mariage of our Emp'resse with *Cajus*

1670 * *Silius* we fairely like ; and to that end, *Reade.*

* *Nihil compositum miraculi causa. Tacit.*

* *Nam illud omnem fidem excesserit ; quod nuptiis quas Messallina cum adultero Silio fecerat, tabellas dotis & ipse consignaverit : inductus, quasi de industria simularentur, ad avertendum transferendumque periculum imminere ipsi per quædam ostenta portenderetur. Sueton.*

(For

(For approbation of our Copious Grant)
 With our imperiall signet willingly
 Have seal'd this assurance, granting a Dower
 Out of our Treasurie to be exhaust,
 1675 And of our royall pleasure to be given
 With her our onely happinesse on earth.
 By whose perswasions we are confident
 The sayd Nuptialls, to be but colourably,
 Onely of purpose t' avert the danger
 1680 Of certaine prodigies, aym'd at our losse
 Of life and Empire.

Calp. This credulitie in *Cæsar*, was by
 Her highnesse excellently mannag'd.

Sauf. Sure

1685 Ioves high love to his lov'd Gænymed
 Descends in triumph on the Noble *Silius*.

Val. Else, how should the meanes to his high ayme,
 Free from the plots of blood thus fairely greet
 Without least flaw in safetie.

1690 *Pro.* True, true, nor
 Can it enter in my thoughts to thinke,
 What obstacle should barre his excellence
 From writing Emp'rour.

Men. None, not the least let ;

1695 The people that are the Nerves of Empire
 All for the vertues of your noble Syre,
 Dearely affect you ; boldly rely on't
 At publication of this copious grant
 They'l adde all majestie to your high fame.

1700 *Sauf.* Their love to you and feare of prodigies
 Pretended for to dimme dull *Cæsars* glory
 Will worke constraint.

Val. Refresh to memory
 The Acts of blood that raign'd in *Scylla's* dayes.

1705 *Emp.* Busie their braines, and put them still in minde
 That the blacke thoughts of *Cataline* survive
 For this prodigious Age to perpetrate.

Calp. Besides the Auspices, 'mong whom this grant
 Was sign'd, they by the Entrailles of their beasts
 1710 Firmely affirme (past contradiction)
 Your raigne to be most safe and popular.

Vir. Which with the rest are piercing motives, that
 Of necessitie (as food and rayment
 To the bodies health) will force the people
 1715 Constant ; they in their love and feare must make
 Your more then royall spirit most endear'd
That state best rules, rules to be lov'd and fear'd

Sil. Noble *Romans*, deare country men and friends
 These solid certainties you here pronounce
 1720 In my behalfe, (which argues your firme friendship,
 The vengefull Gods must in their justice grant.
 Make me the Minister of Fate, dig up
 The dignities of *Caesars* Race, and in
 The stead, plant monumentall ruine, make

1725 The name wretched, draw dishonour'd breath,
 All the dire torments Furies can invent,
 Were all too little for my Fathers losse,
 That memorable he, he that hath stood
 The fiery fervour of so many fights,

1730 Came bravely off, and sav'd this Empire.
 Gave unto *Caesar Rome* and servile senate
 Gave all their strength and being, and for all
 (Growne too too great examples for the times,)
 Plots were devis'd in recompence to kill,

1735 And that their machivillian darkenesse, he
 No sooner sented, but in open senate

Scorching

Scorning *Tiberius*, and deaths base censure
 Expos'd his life a sacrifice to valour.
 And for that fact, upon the blood and name,
 1740 That caus'd so brave and famous and example
 For all free spirits, Ile be reveng'd after
 No common sort.

Val. Brave *Silius* go on, and
 Prosper, and command me ever
 1745 And all.

Sil. The thanks 'mong Princes of ignoble braine
 That shines like rotten wood, serves pettie use,
 The mind of *Silius* much much more then scornes,
 The grave *Vergil anus*, during the
 1750 Life of *Silius* shall ne'r speake but with the
 Voice of *Consull*; he, *Calphurnianus*
Vectius Valens, *Proculus*, *Menester*,
 And *Saufellus Trogus*, to all renowne
 Command and wealth of Provinces shall flow,
 1755 T'expresse the gratitude of *Silius*, and
 Though last nam'd, yet your bright excellence (the
 Which for gratitude ever remembred)
 Best in esteeme and first; not unlike, to
 That rare Iem reserved last to view for
 1760 Worth and glory, to you all the delight
 This world of man affords I freely give.

Emp. Thy temper melts me my magnanimous Mate.

Sil. The Rites of *Hymen*, with next morrowes Sun
 Shall apt my blood unto the perfect height
 1765 Of pleasure, love and emminence, lead on.
Pompey nor Cæsar, could endure a Mate,
Nor Silius Claudius in superiour state.

Exeunt omnes.

Enter Narcissus, Pallas, Calistus.

1770 *Nar.* Emp'rour of emptie braines, z'heart I could
curse,

His soule to th'depth of *Barathrum* O —————

Pal. Who but *Claudius*, unworthy of Empire,
Drunke with the dreggs of overlight beleefe

1775 Would be so grossely gul'd.

Cal. Scar'd with the Bugges
Of Babies.

Nar. A whoores invention, a drab
Of state, a cloth of Silver slut, the tricks

1780 Of a tempting Tissue Trull, to push his
Hornes upon the Pikes of ruine, where he
Should rot ; rot ; wer't not to serve our owne ends,
Maintaine that habit of perfection sure,
Which till this sudaine unexpected change

1785 Like Paste has workt him to what mould we pleas'd.

Pal. And must doe still, or certainly we perish.

Cal. 'Tis the prime pollicie, the heart of state,
Which if with vigilance we not pursue,
* We lose, and in that losse lost for ever.

1790 *Silius* grows popular, and the people
As 'tis their nature, ever covet change,
They are as easie to be fil'd with errours,
As for a lust-stung strumpet to take up
To her dishonor ; therefore as Saylers,

1795 That have for guide the South and North, sometimes
To traverse and to crosse their way, and yet
Not lose their guide ; so in the deepe affaires
Of such high consequence of state (as now
The time concernes) we must for guide, detain

* *Subibat sine dubio metus. reputantes hebetem Claudium & uxorem devinctum. Tacit.*

1800 * The knowledge how to peirce the ends of those
We most maligne.

Pal. Thereby indeede man rarely
Rests deceiv'd, which for to put in speedy
Practise, and stop the marriage, you and I
1805 My Lord (under the vaile of friendship) will
To *Rome* ; perswade the Emp'resse *Cæsar* is
Himselfe ; perceives that all her plots to his
Destruction tends ; the losse of Empire and
Th'abuse of 'his bed, dissuaded her from the
1810 Love of *Silius*, which (in the refusall)
Blood and fire must quench.

Nar. This put home
With low submission, making her beleewe
By cringes, creepings, and a *Synons* face,
1815 That all our care is onely for her good,
May worke perswasion.

Cal. But not in her.
There is no trust to such uncertaintie,
T'were deadly *Stibium* to our vitall blood,
1820 Like that dire poyson that's resistative
'Gainst the most wholesome Antidotes of life.
Weake mindes of men they are, fit to be fool'd,
Slighted, add scorn'd, whose dull ignorance
Knowes not that women in their height of ill,
1825 Who barres them their delight, delight to kill.
What will *Valeria*, *Messallina*, the
Emp'resse then ; thinke you she will be slow,
Whose hot Alarums in the very Act
Within the circuit of a day and night
1830 Indur'd the test of five and twentie, came

* *Agitavere ; num Messallina secretis minis depellerent amore
Siliij, cuncta alia dissimulantes deinde metu, ne ad perniciem
ultra traherentur desistunt. Tacit.*

Off unwearied : A deede to quake the hearts
 Of vertuous Dames, thinke you she will be bar'd
 Diswaded from the love of *Silius*, no,
 We cannot therefore (knowing that credit and

- 1835 Authority is farre more safely for
 To be maintain'd with circumspect, then with
 Rash counsell) cannot I say be too too
 Wary, least by any notice taken
 She take least knowledge of our discontent
 1840 Whose rugged thoughts unseene, must be smooth'd ore
 And with a pleasing vaile, appeare in shew
 To like, and give full approbation
 Of the approbrious marriage, so to
 Secure us from suspect and perill ;
 1845 Vndoubted death.

- Nor.* I fully apprehend,
 That so *Romes Syren* in the height of pride ;
Silius and all the factious Complices
 Through wicked wedlocks jollitie made drunke
 1850 Drunke with the dregges of blinde securitie.
 Then, then my pyoning pollicies aloft
 (Of which my braine deteines the Theorick)
 Shall apt a Time for vengeance unwithstood
 The thirst of their Ambition quenche in blood.
 1855 Till when sleepe on, sleepe on ye fooles of fate,
 " Plots best encounter plots, free from suspect,
 " Fly like the bolts of jove, firme in effect.

Exeunt.

- Cornets. Enter Emperesse and Silius crown'd atten-*
ded in state by the Auspices and their faction passing
 1860 *over the stage to the Temple, Lepida with her*
haire dishivelled wringing her hands meets
them, they goe off shee speakes.

Lep. Blest be that sacred power which restor'd

My

My senses lost, and in that perfect being
 1865 Gives me the noble patience for to see,
 And suffers not mine eye-balls to drop out
 At sight of this my daughters impudence,
 Shame that attends this wicked Nuptiall Rites
 Now in the name of goodnesse, what meanes this

1870 *Enter Valens, Proculus, Menester and Saufellus.*

Whispering ? what new mischiefe lies hatching
 In yonder bloody villaines busie braine ?
 In the discovery, counterfeit sleepe,
 And madnesse be my Maske.

1875 *Sauf.* At the *Bachanalian* feast which now
 Drawes nigh, then a rich stirring Maske will best
 Expresse it selfe in greatest glory ; the
 Tunes for song I'le take that charge on me.

Val. For changes in each dance my braine shall worke.

1880 *Sauf.* What sayes *Menester*, he that has borne the
 Prize ; leapt Madam *Venus* in her height of pride
 For gracefull action and sweet Poesie.

Val. Now,

Does he claw like a decay'd Tradesman, when
 1885 To maintaine the wagging of his chappes
 His wives Veneriall Firk-in must to Sale.

Men. Why ? did you ne're heare of a fellow, that
 By the scratching of his nimble pate,
 Workt your best pleasing project for a maske,

1890 Was well rewarded for't, when such as you
 For paines in song and dances laught to scorne
 Poore simple sots, their payment was the horne.

Pro. O nimble Satyricall veine.

Men. That's slow enough and dull at this time.

- 1895 *Sauf.* What thinke you
 Of a wooden *Cupid* brought in, in
 An antick amble, making it wag like
 The Apish head of a *French* Fidler, when he
 Firkes with his Fingers.
- 1900 *Val.* 'Twill never take
 Unlesse you bring in the dapper dancer,
 With his la ta tat a teero tat a tant
 Ta ra rat a ta too rant tat a ta teero tat a too,
 Flinging away his legges, and skrewing his face
- 1905 Into the fury of a thousand fooles.
 Whose this? Mad-madam *Lepida* a sleepe.
Sauf. Tis well : else shee'd raile faster then any Citie Puppet.
Pro. That's a horrid hearing.
Sauf. O a hell, none like it, let *Scorpios* itch
- 1910 Raigne in her middle spheare, phy how shee'l
 Play the divell with Cuckold simplicitie
 Her husband for want of performance, it
 Passeth all admiration, and that with
 No little wonder, yet demand the Act,
- 1915 And then you shall have my nice o'recurious dame,
 Vpon the Tiptoes of her apish pride,
 Protest, with O no — I will not wrong my
 Husband for earths treasure, stand upon her
 Honesty, then smile, change in a moment,
- 1920 And then wantonize, mop, mew, bite lip and
 Wriggle with the bumbe to put a man in minde ;
 Then touch, shee'l gripe, and clip with a kisse,
 Melt into all the formes of Venery
 Thought can devise, and ther's her honesty.
- 1925 *Men.* O petulant purenesse of defiled pitch,
 But you forget what actors are prepar'd
 In readinesse for practise gainst the Masque.

Sauf.

Sauf. The vestall Virgins from the Temple hail'd
They shall supply that want 'tis so decreed

1930 By th'Empresse strict command.

Lep. O horrible

Aside

Sauf. All from the age of ten, to twentie five
Must suffer Rape, and shall, stood hell in sight.

Val. Spoake like thy selfe, my metropolitan
1935 Cut throate of chastitie.

Sauf. 'Twill be excellent,
Rare, I fat with laughter at the rich conceite,
Wee'l play at Tennis with their maidenheads,
Fiftie at a breakfast, shall not give me

1940 Content.

Lep. I say, vertues a Cyphar in
The hearts of great ones, and stands for nothing.
What sayes your most approved judgements, your
Single sole conceits I am sure will stand

1945 For bawdy Comedies, and ribald jests.

Insinuate thou and so wax knavish wise,
Thou a stamp villaine, learne to temporise,
Plot thou, and set friends houely at debate,
Cling to the surer side, the weaker hate,

1950 Turne Bawd at midnight, Pander to a Whore
While lust in'ith act (ye knaves) looke to the doore.
Ha, ha, ha, ha, ha.

Exit.

Sauf. Laughs thou mad mawde
Goe with a burning mischiefe ; Z'heart : I could cut
1955 Her throate, but something in her lookes there is
That shakes me ; what agen.

Enter Lepida.

Lep. Be thou,
One that knowes how to mix with perilous Art,

The

1960 The deadly poyson with the amorous dart,
 Drunk with conceite, that greatnesse beares the sway,
 Safely to act what villany it may.
 Godge godden I'll come agen anon.

Exit.

Sauf. But wee'll prevent you, come Lords to Court,
 1965 She shall be silenc'd or her tongue cut out.

Exeunt.

Lep. Gon, O happy blessed blest prevention
 That to mine eares unlockt the horrid sound
 The blacke intention of so foule a rape,
 1970 A hundred vestall virgins to be whor'd,
 First let the world dissolve and disipate ;
 To its first *Chaos* ; O thou all-seeing power
 Prostrate on bended knees, I here implore,
 Beg at thy mightie hands t'inspire my soule,
 1975 Make me the substitute and holy meanes
 The sweet prevention of so horrid a
 Fact ; O heaven, tis granted, thanks Majestie
 Divine ; worke on my minde ; thought happily
 Thought upon ; a spacious vault I have, which
 1980 Neare adjoynes unto the Vestalls Temple ;
 Thither this night by a back secret way
 I'll draw the holy maides (none will suspect
 Because all deeme me mad) there by this hand
 Succour, releese, and safetie shall attend
 1985 Your noble soules ; chaste maides live long and blest,
 " Free from the bondage of blacke mischiefs hands,
 " To vertuous Actions, heaven propitious stands.

ACT.

ACT. 5. SCENE. I.

Enter Emperour, Narcissus, Pallas, Calistus.

- 1990 *Emp.* **A** Re we not *Cæsar* ?
 Is not *Romes* Empire servile unto us ?
 You mad me with your newes.
Nar. Mad a Dog, a
 Cat, a Rat, y'are to tame, want spirit
 1995 To be mad, I am mad, mad to the depth
 Of madnesse ; O I could teare my haire, to
 See you thus, thus senselesse of your wrongs, but
 Doe, doe ; be the grand Cuckold of this universe,
 Let *Cajus Silius* raigne *Romes* Emp'rour.
 2000 *Pal.* Lov'd of the people.
Cal. Honour'd of the *Senate*
Nar. Hurrid in triumph through the streets of *Rome* :
Pal. In *Cæsars* Chariot glistring like the *Sunne*,
Cal. While *Cæsar*, unlike *Cæsar* calmely suffers.
 2005 *Nar.* Out of his Empire finely to be work't,
 Finely, betwixt the two hot *Palmes* of lust.
Pal. Abus'd (forsooth) for feare of *Prodigies*.
Nar. That, that, O infinite shame in stately
 Majestie, to make your selfe a never
 2010 Dying scoffe for ages yet unknowne
 To point at you, for the most famous Cuckold.
Cal. The renowned Cuckold.
Pal. The high and mightie Cuckold.
Nar. Cuckold by five and twentie, all in the
 2015 Short space of a day and a night, O insatiate
 Bawdy villany.

Emp.

- Emp.* Damnation seize her,
 I will heare no more ; misery of miseries,
 Impatience crampes my vitall veines, that swell
 2020 With fiery boyling rage, O I am a lumpe
 Of true vexation, tortur'd with torments
 Worse then those in hell, in hell, very hell ;
 This body sure is not substantiall, no
 I am all ayre, pierc'd through and through with stormes,
 2025 Incessant stormes, that strike a terroure to
 My panting soule, misery of mariage,
 Horn'd, and abus'd by every vassaile Groome
 Vessells of baseness, they shall buy it deare
 The high Sea of their daring pride must downe
 2030 All topsie turvie to confusion turne :
 I will uncharme and never more be fool'd
 Slave to those wonder darting eyes that strike
 Amazement through the world, those bewitching
 Lampes her eyes, fed with the oyle of whorish
 2035 Fortitude, (that like the *Centaure's* blood)
 Rivets the poyson of fell furies rage
 Into my blood and braine, those false false eyes,
 Shall never more intice, because that I
 Will never see them more, they shall put out
 2040 Their glory for grave, there forgot,
 Scorn'd, and contemn'd of *Cæsar*, lye and rot.
Nar. Now are you *Cæsar*.
Pal. What you ought you are.
Cal. The high and mightie Roman Emperour.
 2045 *Emp.* But am I so indeede (for I' me amaz'd
 At my dull follies past) is't not too late
 To call back errours darknesse, O tell me
Narcissus, is not *Silius* Emperour,
 Vsurpes he not that name past reach to quell.

Nar.

2050 *Nar.* Conferre on me that absolute command,
Which *Geta* Captaine of your guard now holds
Over your souldiers here at *Hostia*,
And er'e the next Sun set his circular course
The daring pride of all the faction,
2055 *Cæsar* shall sit in senate, and their doome.

Emp. Sweetest revenge, honour'd *Narcissus* draw
Out the souldiers at thy free dispose
Here's thy command, *Geta* we doe mistrust

Gives him a Ring.

2060 Thee onely trust, accelerate revenge,
That I may ebbe the high swolne tide of wrongs,
Which beyond limmits teares my restlesse braine,
Knits and then teares with infinite unrests
If there be Hell, the divell and damnation

2065 'Tis mans delight in woman, insatiate
Woman ; that will doe with the divell, O
'Tis a fearefull thing to be a Cuckold,
Rowl'd up in wrinkles of foole patience,
We heare they have a Masque, but rather, then

2070 Any of the lustfull route, make their escape
Fire me the Palace, burne 'em in that Masque,
It will be brave to see 'em dance in fire,
Skip lech'rous Antickes in a boyling flame.
That thus with raging passion, boyling, flames

2075 My most distracted braine ; tortures no lesse,
Then if on *Caucasus* we were expos'd,
A never dying prey to the Eagles beake.
Such is the misery of marriage, where
The besotted husband most affects, there

* *Trepidabatur nihilominis a Cesare, quippe Geta pretorij præfectio haud satis fidebat, ad honesta seu prava juxta levi, etc. Tacit.*

2080 To be most abus'd, Cuckold, Cuckold, Cuckold, O.

Exit.

Nar. After *Calistus*, t' appease his fury.

Exit Calistus.

My Lord, I'll post to *Rome*, the people groane
 2085 Beneath the Emp'resse weight ; tis mischievous
 * The bloody massacre of those *Roman* dames
 Murder'd for hate to lust, affords plentie
 Of friends, to force the Citie gates open
 To our free entrance.

2090 *Pal.* In signe whereof,
 From the high top, the temple of god Mars
 Let a bright burning Torch i th' dead of night
 Waft our approach.

Nar. Like *Synons* unto *Troy*;

2095 Talke trifles time.

Pal. Farewell my noble Lord.

Exit. Pal.

Nar. Till next we meete farewell, it is decreed
 I'th height of pride murder and lust must bleed.

Exit. Nar.

2100 *Enter Lepida and Vibidea, meeting each other.*

Lep. Now good *Vibidia*, thou vertuous Matron
 Of *Romes* Vestall maides, say, are they all safe,
 Can they endure the vault, that wretched shift
 This wretched Age inforces,

2105 *Vib.* Best, best Lady,
 Thou Angell mother, of a Fiend-like child,
 All earthly similies are too too base
 To expresse thy admirable vertues,

* *Multa mortes iussu Messallina patratas. Tacit.*

By

By you *Romes* Vestall Virgins all are safe,
 2110 Onely by you preserv'd and kept from rape
 From being hurrid in sad silence, unto
 The gate *Colina*, there in a deepe pit
 To be put into, there buried alive,
 From that dire death which was at first ordain'd
 2115 For unchaste vestalls ; by thee chaste vestalls
 Live all preserv'd, to them their darkesome vault
 Is farre more glorious then the courts of Kings,
 For which upon my knees in blessed time,
 Wonder of women let me kisse thy feete.

2120

Kneeles.

Lep. What meanes *Vibidia* ?

Vib. To reverence your steps,
 The earth, the very ground whereon you tread,
 For that's made holy by your sacred steps.

2125 *Lep.* Not unto me *Vibidia* but to heaven,
 To that lets kneele, to that omnipotence
 Which made this earth, lets both with holy zeale

Both kneele.

Salute our mother earth in ardent love,

2130

Kisse the earth.

To heavens great Master.

*A Noyse within of Follow
 follow, follow.*

Vib. Now the good Gods preserve us.

2135 *Lep.* Fly to the vault, I feare we are betrayd.

Exeunt.

*Enter Saufellus, Hem and Stitch
 with Lights :*

Sauf. Search, search about,

My

2140 My *Genius* whisper'd in mine eares last night
 The vestalls lodged within this mad Mawdes house
 Shee dies for't, while the chaste puppets we will
 Drag to the court, there ravish and there kill,
 'Twill prove an excellent closing to the Masque.

2145 *Hem.* How if we finde them not (my Lord)
Sauf. Finde or finde not, for that I'me sure th'are here
 Wee'l fire the house and flame it into Ayre.

Hem. The ground shakes, I sinke,

*Thunder and lightning, Earth
 gapes and swallows the
 three murders by degrees.*

2150

Zownes Hems hem'd to the earth
 I cannot stirre.

St. Nor I I sinke, *Stitch* sinke

2155 Had we our names for this, a vengeance of
 All false *Stitches*, they have sticht me, O horror.

Sauf. How's this.

Hem. Hell and confusion }
St. Divells and Furies } Sinke both.

2160 *Sauf.* Horror of darknesse, what dread sight is this
 What black Red-raw-eyd witch hath charm'd this ground.
 Sink'st thou my limbes supporter ; must I yeeld ;
 Dost thou then faint proud flesh, mount mount my blood,
 And like *Enceladus* out dare thy fate,

2165 O that my wish were suited to my will
 Now would I cuckold all the world, leave not
 A man unhorn'd, a maid unrap't, beget
 A brood of *Centaure's* to supply, and worke
 The worlds confusion ; ha more horror yet,

Thunder

Why silly dames, I confesse your murders,
But to repent the fact, knów that my heart.
Is like the Corsick Rock, more hard ; farre more
2175 Vnpassable then *Chymera* mount, whats
That in white there, what so e're it be ; the
Majesty it beares, trembles my sinewes,
O how it shakes me ; came Furies clad in
Flames, not all hells tortures, th'affrights & horrors
2180 Equals the thousand part the paines I feele
Through sight of that, that flaming Christall, sinke
Me O — earth ; *Pindus* and *Ossa* cover
Me with Snow, hide me *Cimerian* darkenesse
Let me not see it, my Eye sight failes
2185 *Ingeniosi sumus ad falendum nosmet ipsos,*
Farewell *Romes* Empr'esse

To all ambitious vermine,
Puncks, Pimpes and Panders, Whores and Bawdes farewell.
2190 Confound the world, the worst of death is hell.

Enter Sulpitius with a Guard.

F.

Cornets.

Cornets sound a Flourish, Enter Senate who placed by
 2200 *Sulpitus, Cornets cease, and the Antique Maske con-*
sisting of eight Bachinalians enter guirt with Vine
leaves, and shap't in the middle with Tunne Vessells,
each bearing a Cup in their hands, who during the
 2205 *first straine of Musick playd foure times over, enter by*
two at a time, at the Tunes end, make stand ; draw
wine and carouse, then dance all : The Antimasque
gone off : and solemne Musicke playing : Messallina and
Silius gloriously crown'd in an Arch-glittering Cloud
aloft, Court each other.

2210 *Sil.* Abstract of rare perfection my *Iuno*,
 Glorious Emp'resse all admiration.

Emp. Excellent *Silius* all perfection.

Sil. Amazing rarity, beauties treasure.

Emp. Natures wonder, my delight, my pleasure.

2215 *Sil.* Let me suck Nectar, kisse, kisse, O kisse me.

Emp. Soule to my lips, embrace, hug, hug me.

Sil. Leap heart.

Emp. Mount blood.

Sil. Thus relish all my blisse.

2220 *Emp.* Agen the pressure of that melting kisse.

Sil. Descend my *Venus* all compos'd of love.

Emp. Lockt in thy Armes my Mars.

Sil. Downe, downe we come

Like glistring *Phæbus* mounted in his Car,

2225 When in the height of the celestiaall signes

He sayles along the Circuit of the Skie.

While they descend, Valens, Proculus, and Menester
with three Curtezans in the habit of Queenes with
Coronets of state meete them beneath, during their si-
 2230 *lent congratulation, Narcissus enters aloft with a*
Torch and speakes.

Nar.

Nar. Blacke is the night ; a Canopie of clouds,
Hides the bright Silver spangles of the skie,
All is secure, revenge proportion keepes
2235 To my full wish ; no thought of blood and death
Writes on the Index of blacke deeds at Court
The least suspect ; mad lust and wine, revells
And pleasures, muffle their understanding.
O Lust, lust, lust, wer't thou not what thou art,
2240 A thicke blacke cloud onely compos'd of ill
For to tempt judgement, hadst thou the rellish
Of sweet good, as thou are badly bitter,
Thee above all the Gods I would adore,
Thee, thee adore, that unresisted thus,
2245 Snares the besotted Faction to their fall.
Loade them with *Lethe* still, while thus I waft
Revenge from *Hostia* ; like the sad flames
Of *Ilion* burne, burne bright Torch ; let thy faire view
Tune to the dance of death, the amorous
2250 Measures of full vengeance ; blaze prodigie,
When the bad bleed give me that Tragedy. *Exit.*

*Leaves the Torch
burning.*

Emp. Musicke, distill new sweetnesse, vary thy
2255 *Nectar* Notes, while *Loves* bright eyes, court lips to
The height of dalliance, each sacrifice a kisse,
To all th'inchantments of loves luscious blisse.
All. O liquid life of live. *All kisse.*
Sil. Here's a full bole, a health to the height of pleasure.

2260 *Kisse.*

Emp. Brave health agen, another, and a third.

Val. That deepe carouse, makes *Vectius Valens* see.

Sil. See, what dost see ?

Val. In my mindes eye me thinks,

2265 A moving Army comming from *Hostia*

Sil. O likelyhood, an Army from *Claudius*.

Emp. Senselesse *Cornuto*, he's to confident,
He ha's too great affiance in my love.

Pro. His Cornucopia skull feares prodigies,

2270 *Men.* Alas, his hornes fork'd like an aged Oake,
Are growne too great, to huge to enter *Rome*.

Val. O mightie hornes.

Pro. O monstrous Majestie.

Sil. Scoffe of glory.

2275 *Emp.* My scorne,
Come, come lets dance, Musicke proceed,
Claudius my hate shall with the next sun bleed.

*The dance ended, Alarum
within.*

2280 *Enter Sulpitius his sword drawne.*

Sulp. Hast, hast to save your selves, we are betrayd,
The armed Troopes of *Cesar* enter *Rome*,
Fly or their brandisht steele will guirt the Court
Past all escape.

2285 *Emp.* Deafe, deafe me O thunder,
Betrayd, O blacke afright, fly *Silius* flie.

*Exeunt Senate and
Curtezans.*

Sil. What to out live my Fate, no, you of
2290 The Senate fly, fly all, stand not amaz'd, my
mighty Mistris, endanger not your selfe,
Excellent Empresse, *Sulpitius* be your guard.

Exeunt Empr. and Sulpitius.

But why you sad copartners in my fall,
2295 Why stand you thus plung'd in the panting depth
Of deepe amaze, collect your spirits and
Pursue your safetie.

Val. What? fly?

And leave you here; first with this hand

2300 I'll teare my bowells out, and sacrifice
My heart's last leave to life.

Pro. To flye from you,

O 'twere the loathsom'st scumme coward e're lapt.

Men. Blacke blots of infamy to endlesse fame

2305 Wu'd write our Epitaphs, if basely flye.

Where were the noble mindes of *Brutus* then,

Brave *Cassius*, and *Tylinnius* hate to life,

Sil. Our deaths shall be more glorious, far lesse ill,

Yet will we die, arm'd with a world of valour.

2310 Not like those desperate fooles, which by their

Owne swords fall ; we are too deepe in lust, to

Sucke such backe damnation, that were horrid.

The soule, the all that is the best in man,

Tells of two opposites, life and death in death.

2315 True sorrow for lifes death misselead in life,

That's perfect valour, makes men bravely die

That liv'd not so, when the selfe violent death

Is but a bastard valour.

Enter with weapons drawne, Emperour Claudius

2320 *Narcissus, Calistus, with souldiers.*

Emp. Now you luxurious traytor, Emperour

Silius ; your highnesse gates at length are forc'd

To bow ; wher's your top gallant strumpet, that

Strumpet, witch, hell-Cat ; most insatiate whore

2325 That ever cleav'd to the loynes of Letchers.

Tell me ye impious villens, Traytrous slaves,

That I may execute my burning hate,

And send ye swimming in her blood to hell.

Sil. *Claudius*, let it suffice, she is not here,

2330 Spit all thy venome ; be it a Sea of

Poyson let it fall, here's none will shrink ; our

Bloods are all too much enobled, into

The eminent temper of true Monarches,

To dread respectlesse death.

2335 *Val.* None here but scornes

To plead with humble basenesse, low submission
For miserable mercy.

Pro. None here complains upon the enticements
Of your Emp'resse, that were too basely vile.

2340 *Men.* We win no glory in our deaths by that,
Our selves against our selves give guilty,
Onely beg mercy from the Gods.

Sil. Of you our quicke dispatch, tarte lifes exchange
For a delicious death ; which if thought

2345 Should feede upon delay, by all that's sacred
Thus weaponlesse, we all would force
And cut our way to death through some of you.

Emp. I fret with sufferance, upon 'em souldiers :

Souldiers wound them.

2350 *Sil.* O ravishing content.

Val. Fulnesse of joy,

*My lustfull bloud flowes from me, man's ne're blest,
Till freed by death ; lockt from the worlds unrest.*

Dies.

Pro. Man is to man a monster hearted stone,

2355 *With heaven ther's mercy, but with man ther's none.*

Dies.

Men. This Tragick end is the most welcome part
I ever grac'd with action ; 'tis the best,
O homo fragilis, specta voluptates abeuntes.

2360 Man is an Actor, and the world the Stage,
Where some do laugh, some weepe, some sing, some rage,
All in their Parts during the Scene of breath
Act follies, scourg'd by the Tragedian death.
My Sun is set in blood, fly soule and catch

2365 " At a more glorious being, farewell breath,
" Man's never in the way to joy till death.

Dies.

Sil. Why like a worme crawling twixt life & death

Am

- Am I thus forc'd ; I must, I will not die
 So like a beast, the lofty Cedar and the aged Oake,
 2370 Cuft with incessant stormes shall represent
 The fall of *Silius* ; what ? wil't not do ? no ?
 Shall my death then prevaile above my minde,
 O sad condition, misery of life.
 Expence of bloud faints me, and yet I stand,
 2375 Stagger in spight of death ; lifes threads uncut,
 What means this Riddle ? are the Fates asleepe ?
 So drunke at sight of this sad spectacle,
 I must awake their waking ; I' me abus'd,
 Where art thou, thou invisible threefe ; leane
 2380 Rogue I dare thee to this combate, why slave,
 Dog, coward, dastard Death, no no ; why then
 O kind best loving death ; if valiant, if
 Thou be that sole conquerour of Kings time
 Speakes thee for ? prethee, but for one bout,
 2385 I'le not resist, scarce able to stand ; open
 Breasted, take all advantage, disjoynt the
 Chaine of inauspicious *stars*, fettering
 My over wearied flesh with life, one thrust
 Put home will end me.
 2390 *Emp.* Sinke him *Evodius*.
Sil. Thrust home and sure,
 Why so ; desire now followes my bloud,
 Farewell world picture of painted folly,
 Frame of woe ; paltry life, I gladly shake thee off.
 2395 *Enter Syllana running.*
Syll. Hold, hold, for pittty hold.
Sil. It is too late,
 Too late *Syllana* my most vertuous wife.
Syll. O my deare husband, flint hearted *Cæsar*,
 2400 Was not this husband wrought by the *Circean*
 Charmes of thy she divell ; she, she hath bin,

The fatall Engine of my husbands sinne,
 She from my heart hath torne away this pearle
 More pretious then the world, O my deare love,
 2405 I doe beseech thee to beare up in death,
 Shoot thy pale looks, through my afflicted soule,
 Whose sighes and teares & prayers knit up in groanes,
 Ascend yon starry globe unto the Gods,
 The good good Gods to pardon thee my love.

2410 *Sil.* Like a spent Taper onely for a flash,
 I doe recover to embrace thee sweet :
 Forgive me injur'd excellence ; constant wife.
 Take from my lippes (deare heart) a parting kisse
 Cold as the dead mans Skull ; nay weepe not sweet

2415 There is divinity in that weeping eye,
 Prayer on thy lip, and holinesse in thy heart.
 The Divells cannot say I flatter thee,
 Nor this abusive, scornefull, dull darke Age,
 Taxe me to saye it never, never can ;

2420 Not out of all the Catalogue of women,
 Pick such a *Phanix* Saint forth as thy selfe.
 In thee, bright heavens *majesticke* eminence,
 Lives my supporting prop against all ill
 To take me up to mercy.

Dies.

2425 *Syl.* Stay, O stay,
 And take me with thee up to mercies seate,
 For when we are there I know, we shall not
 Part thus ; O he is gone ; the strings of life
 Are crackt ; I'll not outlive thee, no ; thy losse
 2430 Most noble husband, wafts my soule the way
 To her eternall rest, breake heart, swell grieve,
 And mount me to my love ; I neede not I,
 The burning coales of *Portia*, *Lucrece* knife,
 One kisse wilt do't, thus ends *Syllana's* life.

Dies.

Enter

2435 *Enter Pallas, with Virgilianus, Calphurnianus
and Sulpitius Prisoners.*

Pall. Live royall Emp'rour long and happy live,
To adde to your revenge behold I bring
The approbrious Faction unto *Silius*.

2440 *Emp.* Moore blood unto this banquet welcome, what
Virgillianus so grave a Senator
 So trech'rous, serv'd you as Bawdes to sooth the
 Mindes of Letchers, *Calphurnianus* and
Sulpitius too : off with their heads, away

2445 With them, be suddaine, the tunne of vengeance
Now begins to stoope broacht with the blood of
These ; vaine inconsiderate fooles.

Nar. My Lord,

The Core of lust still lives, time was *Rome* bragg'd
2450 Of these dead corpses for the most vertuous youths
It e're brought forth, till your leud Empresse
Poyson'd their bloods with her bewitching lust.

Emp. Where is that wretch?

Pal. Prisoner my Lord, safe in *Lucullu's* garden

2455 *Emp.* Remove these bodies, her bloods the period
To my full revenge.

Enter Vibidia.

Vib. Mercy great Emp'rour, mercy for the love
You beare unto your hopefull royall issue,

2460 Lovely *Britanicus*, sweet *Octavia*,
And for that admiration of her sex.

Their mothers mother vertuous *Lepida*

She that hath sav'd a hundred virgins from

The racke of rape, for that true peircing motive

2465 Mightie Lord ; O be in your great mercy
Pleas'd ; to give your Emp'resse audience.

Emp. My Emp'resse,

She is no more my Emp'resse, her blacke life
Lost in lust, hath chang'd that name into an

Æthiops

2470 *Æthiops* blacknesse, yet for those Infants sake
 For *Lepida*, and for the love we beare
 Your holy order we will heare her speake,
Narcissus, against to morrow let her
 Have warning to appeare in Senate.

2475

Exeunt omnes.

Nar. I but such warning as she shall nere come there.

Manet Narcissus.

I'll give no trust to those her whorish eyes.

* She will bewitch thee *Cæsar*, mollifie

2480 Thy flint heart ; if they e're peece agen
 Off goes my head ; I'll not abide the Test,
 The reconcilment of a drab of state,
 Tript, ith' height of pride when topt with pleasure,
 O 'twere fine foole state pollicy to trust
 2485 Raise that declining tempest to her height,
 But I'll be no such president, it smacks
 Too much of the great dish of foole for me,
 And if I doe, may thunder sinke me.

*Exit.**Euter Messallina, Lepida.*

2490 *Mess.* Prevented with a storme in Sunshine,
 Frost in the heate of all our happinesse,
 O fire and Ice O how betweene these two
 Sad smarting strange extreames I madly live
 Tortur'd in mind and blood.

2495 *Lep.* To this, if rul'd by me you ne're had plung'd
 But that's too late now ; O strive to repent.

Mess. Repent, redivell,

Tell me not mother of repentance,
 Earths pleasures are to full of high content,

2500 To be forgot by such a bitter Pill.

* *Ac in eadem ejus Narcissu properavisset ; verterat perniciem
 in accusatorem. Tacit.*

Pray

Pray give some better solace, what returne
Makes *Romus* grave Matron your friend *Vibidia*,
Can she with all her holinesse of life,
Procure our pardon ; is that possible.

2505 *Lep.* Onely a day of hearing that's all, which
You must arme your selfe for 'gainst to morrow.

Mess. O what a lightnings this to my sad heart
My heavie heart, will *Cæsar* heare me speake,
Nay then I am sure of reconcilement.

2510 My quick-Ey'd fence, and *Syrens* tongue shall work it
Charming like *Lethe* make him to forget
My *Crymenall* life, then my rich *Revenge*
Like to the *Plots* of thundring *Iupiter*

Horrid Musicke.

2515 Shall — ha, what horrid sound is this,
What dreadfull sight thus quakes me.

Lep. O 'Tis a gailty conscience.

*Two Spirits dreadfully enter and (to the Treble
Violin and Lute) sing a song of despaire,
during which Lepida sits weeping.*

2520

Song.

1. Spir. *Helplesse wretch despaire, despaire,*

2. Spir. *Foole to live, why draw'st thou Ayre,*

1. Spir. *Friends all are dead,*

2525 *Friends all are dead, thou hast none.*

2. Spir. *Those that seem'd like Chaffe are blowne.*

1. Spir. *Then die, O — die,*

Die — O die.

2. Spir. *'Tis better die then live disgrac'd*

2530 *Ioyes and glories all defac'd.*

1. Spir. *Thy pride of eyes*

Thy pride of eyes,

Which

*Which world of hearts have fier'd
Gon is theia glory now no more desir'd.*

2535 2. Spir. *Then die — O — die*

1. Spir. *Die — O — die,*

Die be free live exempt

And scorne the base worlds base contempt.

1. Spir. *Come live with us, live with us,*

2540 *Live with us, with Spirits dwell,*

Life is a lake of woe continuall hell.

Exeunt.

After this song (which was left out of the Play in regard there was none could sing in Parts) Enter the Ghosts of the murdered Roman Dames, Silius, Valens, Proculus, Menester, Saufellus, two Ruffaines and Bawd, they surround her with their Torches.

2545

Mess. Swallow me earth, gape gape and swallow

Hide me from sight of this sad spectacle,

No? why then doe stare till you burst agen

2550 *'Tis true, I was your deaths chiefe Actor*

Mischiefes chiefe Engine, ruine of you all

Quid faciam? ubi fugiam, hic & illic,

Ubinam nescio, O dira Fata.

Exeunt Ghosts.

Close eyes and never open, all's vanisht now.

2555 *T'was but the perturbation of my minde*

So let it passe — what agen.

Enter Narcissus and Evodius whispering.

Lep. Tis a guard,

I feare the Emp'rour in his minde is chang'd

2560 *And this some sudaine plot to take your life.*

Evod. Within this houre my Lord.

Enter Headsman with Scaffold and a Guard.

Nar. Let it be so,

By that time hither I will conduct th' Emp'rour

2565 *In th'interim cut her off, when she is dead*

Narcissus

Narcissus with his owne saves many a head.

Mess. A Headsman and a scaffold are these for me.

Evod. For thee thou woman all compos'd of lust
bloudy insatiate Monster of thy Sex

2570 See here thy stage of death, be sure to die,
If thou haste respite given thee for to pray
And aske the Gods forgivenessse, thinke it
A world of favour and be suddaine, least
Vnprepar'd we force you to the blocke.

2575 * *Lep.* O be not wholly lost die resolute,
If thou respect the wombe that brought thee forth,
Let thy faults ripe in Act, be blowne to Ayre.
Through faire repentance.

Mess. How can that be ?

2580 Am not I onely Author of all ill,
Is it not I that have prepar'd the paths
To the loose life of all licentiousnesse,
Blacke murder, lust, and rapes unspeakable
Why doe I live ? I that have liv'd too long,
2585 Worthy a thousand deaths ; I feare not death
But O the journey I know not whether,
Torments me more than twentie thousand deaths
But how so e're it must not be deni'd,
Fall then my earthly substance ; thus low humbl'd
2590 * Let my declining height submit my head
To take an everlasting leave of life.

2595 *Shee mounts the Scaffold, submits
her head to the blocke, and sud-
dainly rising up leaps downe,
Snatcheth Evodius Sword and
woundes her selfe.*

* *Lepida quæ florenti filiæ hand concors, Supremis ejus necessitatibus ad miserationem evicta erat. Tacit.*

* *Tunc primum fortunam suam introspectit, frustra jugulo ac pectori per trepidationem admovens ; ictu Tribuni transfigitur, Tacit. Lib. II.*

Hold, our bloud's to precious we will not die
 So like a Calfe, nor by the hand of any
 But our owne, thus and thus, O this cold steele
 2600 How it offends my flesh, I want full strength
 To put it home ; if thou be valiant and a souldier
 Helpe to dispatch me ; that was bravely done
 O my mad lust whither wilt thou beare me
 A dimme blacke fogge rais'd from the *Lernean Fen*
 2605 Obscures my sight ; farewell, deare, deare Mother.
 Had I been rul'd by you, I had beene happy
 Now justly scourg'd for disobedience.
 A Caitiffe most accurst she is no other
 That scornes the vertuous counsell of a Mother ;
 2610 So farewell light of eyes, ne'r to intice,
 Horrour invades my blood, I am all Ice.

Dies.

*Enter Emperour, Narcissus, Pallas, Calistus
 with attendants.*

Emp. Is she then dead.
 2615 *Evod.* And that desperatly by her owne hands.
Lep. O *Cæsar* grant this Corps to my dispose.
Emp. 'Tis at your free dispose convey her hence,
 And now since we are free by faire revenge,
 Never shall marriage yoake the minde of *Cæsar*
 2620 To trust the hollow faith of woman more,
 And if we doe ; may Heaven by treason foule
 Shorten our dayes ; the sequell of our raigne,
 Shall to the good of *Rome* suppress blacke vice.
 Kingdomes are swallowing gulphes by careless rule,
 2625 *Iustice makes Kings the Gods to immitate,*
Vertue in Princes, is the prop of state.

The

THE
EPILOGUE.

2630 *O* *Ur Play is done, now what your censures are*
If with, or against Arts industrie, the care
Tooke by the Author (and our paines to please)
We know not yet, 'till judgement give us ease.
Why should we doubt ? this Theater do's appeare
The Musicke Rome of concord ; you being here.
 2635 *Let no harsh jarring sound of discord then,*
Echo dislike ; claps crowne the Tragicke Pen.

F I N I S .

NOTES.

For textual notes, v. Introduction p. 27 ff.

p. 3. On the ornamental title-page, attention may be drawn to the goat, symbolizing Messalina's lust, and the sheep, symbolizing the innocence of Silius. Between these, under the title, a stage is represented.

This picture of the stage is of great interest, as only three other pictures of pre-Restoration stages are known: Van Buchell's sketch, from De Witt's information, of the interior of the Swan Theatre (1596; in the University Library at Utrecht); the picture on the title-page of W. Alabaster's *Roxana* (1632); and that of the Red Bull stage, on the title-page of Kirkman's *The Wits, or Sport upon Sport* (1672). The stage (probably that of the second Fortune Theatre, v. Introduction p. 31 ff.) depicted on our title-page resembles that of the *Roxana* picture in three points: —

(1) The background is formed by curtains, running the entire width of the stage.

(2) The stage grows narrower towards the front.

(3) Round the stage runs a low railing, separating it from the auditorium.

It is, however, broader than the *Roxana* stage.

The upper stage presents unique features. In the other three pictures, a row of boxes is shown above the stage, at the back; comprising five boxes in the Swan picture, two in the *Roxana* picture, and probably eight ¹⁾ in the Red Bull picture. In place of these, our picture shows an open gallery, running the entire width of the stage. Above this, in the middle, are two rather small boxes ²⁾. The curtains forming the background of the main stage hang from the front of the balcony. Apparently the background, above the

¹⁾ Curtains cover the middle boxes in the Red Bull picture, and make the number doubtful. If the boxes covered are of the same size as the rest, there are eight in all.

²⁾ The gallery is used in our play twice (v. ll. 1415, 1470); the boxes above it once (v. l. 2230 and note).

balcony, is substantial — probably wooden — the balcony being built out from it. The boxes confirm this impression, and further show that room is still available behind the balcony background. This wooden background must be built up from the stage; either on strong posts; or as a wooden wall, with doors, like the background in the Swan picture. Between this and the curtains hanging from the front of the balcony, there would be a stage-space corresponding to the balcony — an « inner stage », revealed by drawing back the curtains.

Our picture thus affords valuable evidence concerning

(1) the shape of the stage;

(2) the character of the upper stage;

(3) the inner stage and the « traverse » curtain;

for though the artist, drawing for a title-page, would make his sketch as flattering as possible, it is improbable that he would invent any essential feature.

I have discussed this evidence in an article « On the characteristics of the English Stage before the Restoration » (*Fahrbuch der Deutschen Shakespeare-Gesellschaft*, XLIV); and since that article and the above note were written, Dr Victor E. Albright, who came upon the picture independently, has discussed it in his valuable study *The Shaksperian Stage* (Columbia University Press, 1909).

The back of the ornamental title-page is blank of print. In copy B there is written in a sprawling hand

Roger Harling

His Book.

[N]ovbr

30 1688.

(The N of Novbr has been cut away in re-binding). Copy A has no inscription.

p. 5. 2. *Tragedy* } the final « y » and « a » respectively are almost
4. *Messallina* } cut away in Text B; perfect in A.

6. *Acted... divers times* : no record remains outside our volume.

6. *gene-* : « e- » is cut away in B, preserved in A.

7. *the Company of his Majesties Revells* : cf. Introduction p. 29 ff.; for earlier history v. Fleay, *Chron. Hist.*; Maas, *op. cit.*, passim.

12. *Juvenal Satyr 10* : v. Introduction p. 37 f.

The back of this page is blank.

21 ff. *This testified by Romes Historians*, (*Tacitus, Sueton[i]us, Pliny,*

Plutarch and Juvenal) : Plutarch gives no testimony on the subject. For the share of the other authors named, v. Introduction p. 32 ff.

31 ff. *the suppression... and exaltation... flight from sinne* : Richards proceeds as though he had written « to the separation of » instead of « to separate » in l. 30, and therefore omits « to », needed by the construction before at least the first of the three coördinated nouns.

36. *nature*. *The* read *nature*, the

63. *write* read writ

66. *Feavour* : a 17th century variant of « fever » (N. E. D.).

71. *wit* ; read wit,

72. Read *Language* [;]

78. *Stephen Bradwell* : I cannot find any other reference to him. For works consulted v. Introduction p. v, § 3.

90. *ballac't* : a 16th-17th century form for « ballasted ». The final dental of the present tense « ballast » was dropped, the form being plausibly analysed into « ballass-ed » ; whence a new present « ballas » arose [N. E. D.].

93. *Rhode* read rode (= road).

96. *Robert Davenport* : fl. 1623, poet and dramatist, published in 1623 « *A Crowne for a Conquerour ; and Too Late to call backe Yesterday. Two Poems, the one Divine, the other Morall* ». From the dedicatory epistle we learn that these poems were written at sea : a fact throwing an interesting light on the well elaborated sea-metaphor of the verses in praise of *Messallina*. He wrote commendatory verses for Rawlins' *Rebellion* (St. Reg. 1639, Nov. 20) as well as for *Messallina* (St. Reg. 1639, Oct. 3) : strong evidence against the suggestion, based on the phrasing of the publisher's Address to the Reader, prefixed to *A Trick to cheat the Divell* (St. Reg. 1639, March 28th) that he died before the publication of this lastnamed play. Davenport's verses are the best of the six sets commending *Messallina*. For further particulars v. D. N. B.

Davenport's works were edited by Mr A. H. Bullen, London, 1890 (Old English Plays, New Series, vol. III) but unluckily only a very limited number of copies were printed.

100. *sanguimolenta* read *sanguinolenta*

113. *Thoma Combes* : I cannot find any other reference to Thomas Combes. For works consulted, v. Introd. p. v, § 3.

119. Read Respected Friend ! Thy

124. *cleare* ; read cleare,

126. *can e're deface it* : consecutive on « so cleare » (l. 124) : « Rich vertue... so cleare (that) no rust... can e'er deface it ».

129. *Jo[hn]* Robinson played the part of Saufellus (v. l. 180). He died Apr. 1641 (Fleay, *Chron. Hist.*, p. 374). I cannot find any other reference to him.

143. ff. Apparently the play, though approved by the actors, had met with criticism from « Censurers » — the « squintey'd critickes » of Robinson's verses — probably the gallants, who constituted themselves critics. Richards' Epistle Dedicatory (l. 21 ff.) also gives the impression that the play had been criticised, probably on the score of its subject; and the quotations from authorities were probably added on this account (cf. Introduction, p. 33, note 1).

147. *soyle* : for « assoyle », used in two senses, either of which may serve here; For examples v. N. E. D. :

(1) refute (an argument or objection);

(2) absolve from sin, forgive (the modern sense).

(1) gives the simpler reading here; but (2) is quite possible, giving the meaning « Say that if they'll write plays themselves, you'll forgive them (for their criticism of the plays of others) ».

151. *Tho. Jordan* : Thomas Jordan (1612? — 1685) was brought up as a member of the Company of His Majesty's Revels, and played the part of Lepida in *Messallina*. For particulars of his life and work, v. D. N. B.

157. *times* : cf. l. 159, l. 247 and note.

161. *pulls* : with plural subject — cf. l. 162, « courbes », « crownes », « refines » (rhyming with « lines »); l. 167 « sees » (rhyming with « Bees »). Cf. Franz, *Shakesp. Grammatik*, § 520; C. Alphonso Smith, *Eng. Stud.* XXX. 1 ff.

175. *Tho[mas]* Rawlins : (? 1620-1670) medallist and playwright, published some seven weeks after the registration of *Messallina* (cf. note on l. 96) a tragedy, *The Rebellion*; for which Richards, returning Rawlins' compliment, furnished a set of complimentary verses. For further particulars of Rawlins' life and work, v. D. N. B.; concerning his imitations of Kyd, v. Koepfel, *Ben Jonsons Wirkung auf zeitgenössische Dramatiker, etc.*, p. 21 ff.

The Actors Names. Geneste says : « The principal reason why so little is known of the actors before the Restoration is, that at that time it was not customary to print the names of the actors to the D. P. The author of the *Historia Histriionica* says ' Some few

old plays there are that have the names set against the parts, as the Dutchess of Malfy, the Picture, the Roman Actor, the Deserving Favourite, the Wild Goose Chase, at the Blackfriars — the Wedding, the Renegado, the Fair Maid of the West, Hannibal and Scipio, King John and Matilda, at the Cockpit — and Holland's Leaguer at Salisbury Court' — to this list may be added Messallina and Money is an Ass » (Geneste, *Hist. of Eng. Stage* I. p. 17). We may add further Ford's *Lover's Melancholy* (cf. *Works of John Ford*, ed. Gifford-Dyce, new edition, London, 1895, Vol. I, p. 6); and according to Fleay (*Chron. Hist.*, p. 324) Massinger's *Believe as you list*. I do not know Fleay's source for the latter list; for he is mistaken in his statement that the Percy Society's reprint of the play gives « an actors character list » (*Biog. Chron.* I. 225). On the contrary, it is specially noted in the introduction that « The MS. begins with Actus primi scæna prima... there is no list of Dramatis Personae » (Percy Society Reprints, vol. XXVII, London, 1849, p. ix). At the end of the MS., however, a property-list is given, in which occur the names of Swanston, Pollard, Taylor, Robinson, Lowin and Benfeild (*ibid.* p. 108).

For *The Deserving Favourite*, cf. the edition of this play by Charles H. Gray, Chicago, 1905, p. 75. For summaries of these lists v. Fleay, *Chron. Hist.*, pp. 321, 324; and note Dr Maas' promise of lists (v. Introduction p. 32, note 4). A list of books, consulted for information on the actors named as playing in *Messallina*, is given above (Introduction p. v, § 3).

I can find no additional information about *John Barret*, *Will. Hall*, *Sam Tomson*, *Mathias Morris*. Fleay names them and the other actors in *Messallina* as belonging to the K. R. Company c. 1632-1636 (*Chron. Hist.*, p. 370 ff.). The latter date is based on the supposition that *Messallina* was played in 1636. We have, shown however, that the play must probably be dated 1637-1639 (v. Introduction p. 29 ff.); so that in the absence of other evidence we may suppose that they remained with the K. R. Company until the closing of the theatres in 1642.

Will. Cartwright Sen. « was probably the father of William Cartwright who acted after the Restoration. He flourished at the end of the 16th century and the beginning of the 17th, is mentioned under the date 1598 in Henslowe's Diary, and had a close intimacy with Ed. Alleyn, from whom (1618) together with Jubbe, Bird and others, he leased the Fortune Theatre » [D. N. B.].

He is mentioned among the « servants to our sonne in Lawe the Elector Palatine » in the Privy Seal of James I., for the issue of letters patent to that company, in transferring their services to the Elector Frederic (Jan. 4, 1612-3) [Hazlitt, *Eng. Drama and Stage*, p. 44]. Fleay (*Chron. Hist.*, p. 371) gives the following summary of the companies with which Cartwright played : « [Earl of Pembroke's, 1597]; Palsgrave's : Elector Palatine's 1613-1618 ; king's Revels c. 1632-6 ; Queen Henrietta's c. 1637-42 ». I can find no evidence for the last statement ; and it is contradicted by our date for *Messallina* (v. s., note on Barret, Hall and Tomson).

Christopher Goad played *Forset* in Part I, and *Duke of Ferrara* in Part II, of Heywood's *Fair Maid of the West*, published in 1631 with a list of the actors (Queen Henrietta's Company) in the 1630 performance (Fleay, *Biog. Chron.*, I. 295 ; Geneste, op. cit. IX. 590). Fleay summarizes Goad's career as : Queen Henrietta's Company, c. 1631 ; King's Revels c. 1632-6. (*Chron. Hist.*, p. 372). This is contradicted by his later statement (*Biog. Chron.*, II. 169) that Goad « had, up to 1636, acted with the Queen's men ». The exact date of Goad's transfer cannot be fixed. He is named in a list of Queen's men prefixed to Davenport's *King John and Matilda*, which Fleay dates c. 1635 ; but while this suggestion is quite plausible, the date cannot with certainty be fixed more definitely than « before 1636 ». He is not included in the list prefixed to Nabbes' *Hannibal and Scipio*, played by the Queen's men in 1635. It cannot be proved, then that he did not transfer from the Queen's to the King's Revels Company before the rearrangement of the two in 1637 ; but this would be the most natural time for the transfer. Fleay's second statement thus probably holds, to the contradiction of his first statement ; Goad probably remained with the Queen's company until the closing of the theatres in 1636 ; and played with the King's Revels Company on the reopening of the theatres in 1637.

John Robinson furnished a copy of laudatory verses on *Messallina* (v. l. 129 and note).

Rich[ard] Johnson was one of the six players imprisoned in May, 1633, by the Mayor of Banbury and two Justices, under suspicion of travelling with a forged Royal Patent and commission of the Master of the Revells ; discharged in June by the Privy Council. Johnson's is the only unfeigned name in the list [Fleay, *Chron. Hist.*, p. 330 f.]. I can find no other reference to him. Maas, op. cit. p. 145 f., offers nothing new.

Tho[mas] Jordan furnished a copy of laudatory verses on *Messalina*. (v. l. 151, and note).

186. *Montanus, a knight in Rome defence virtuously inclined* : This cryptic description is probably a bungling recollection of a sentence of Tacitus (*Ann.* XI. 36) « ne Trauli quidem Montani equitis Romani defensio recepta est. is modesta iuventa... ». The passage is quoted as a footnote to l. 1520, where the text of the play does not suggest the real meaning of the quotation, which moreover is very carelessly printed (v. note ad loc.). I suggest that the list of Actors' Names was compiled, not by Richards, but by the printer ; who, looking through the play to glean a description of Montanus, fixed on this note, which he obviously did not fully understand. His phrase was probably intended to mean « a knight, virtuously inclined in Rome's defence ».

188. *Mela*, a character in no way connected with the story of *Messalina* : L. Annæus Mela, third son of M. Annaeus Seneca, and thus brother of the philosopher, took no interest in politics, but devoted himself to the study of rhetoric and to money-making. His wealth was his ruin : on the death of his son, « rem familiarem eius acriter requirit » ; and Nero seized this as an opportunity to bring about his fall, so that he opened his veins [*Tac. Ann.* XVI. 17 ; *Sen. De Cons.* 182 f.]. Contrast this historical figure with Richards' ideal philosopher !

189. *Virgilianus and Calphurnianus, Senators* : Calphurnianus was not a senator, but præfect of the watch [*Tac. Ann.* XI. 35].

195. *Evodius, a Souldier* : « Euodus e libertis » (*ibid.* XI. 37).

200. *Calphurnia* : the name is that of one of the two chief mistresses of Claudius, who were bribed by Narcissus to break to the Emperor the news of Messalina's marriage with Silius (*ibid.* XI. 29-30).

Veneria the Bawd is omitted from the list of characters ; so also are the headsmen and the other supernumeraries. The omission of the Bawd supports the suggestion made above that the list of characters was not drawn up by Richards.

209. Read writ[.]

228. Cf. l. 737.

230. Read I let

232. *that white* : « the central part of the mark upon the butts, in archery » (Nares).

239. The line is not to be found in Seneca, though the thought is familiar in his work, cf. e. g. *Herc. Oet.* 1564, 1576-81, 1833-6, 1940-3, 1971. For traces of Senecan influence in the play, v. Introduction p. 39. For other Latin lines which I cannot identify, v. notes *ad fin.*

245. Read will [?]

247. *Times* : genitive, « The hellbred... blood of [these bad] times ». Richards repeatedly uses « times » in this depreciatory sense, generally without the article : e. g. ll. 269, 370. It is also used in the Laudatory Verses, cf. l. 157 and note. This couplet (ll. 247-8) recalls the acrostic, *Duke Richmond's Ghost* [C. P.] ll. 9-10.

« Saintlike they live, where *Vertue* rules high blood.

'Tis most most fearfull to be great not good ».

The last lines of *Duke Richmond's Epitaph* [C. P.] express the same thought

« Not only great in blood

But what is far more Rare, a Great man Good ».

253. We must mentally supply « way » after « direct ». The sense is « that obscure man's sight for the direct way and turn it to ways directly ill ». For « obscures » as a plural form v. note on l. 161; for the subordination of sense to sound cf. Introduction p. 62, § 9 (3) for the jingle « direct » « directly » cf. *Introd.* p. 63 (5).

260. Read

To your selfe ; hang't up,

'Tis a disease to sweet alacritie,

Of all true joviall minds to be abhord[.]

Come [!] —

269. *Puffe-paste* : cf. « puffe-paste muddie mindes » (*The World* [C. P.] l. 114); « avoid, puff-paste, avoid » (Marston, *Antonio and Melida III.* 2. 115) — here as substantive.

The thought expressed in ll. 268 ff. echoes *The Vicious Courtier* [C. P.] 31 ff.

286. The word between « beauty » and « woman » is illegible in both texts, only the foot of each letter being given. The first letter is certainly « p », and the metre demands a disyllabic word. I confidently suggest « peerless » which agrees with the letter-traces visible.

The thought of ll. 286-291 slightly recalls Berowne's speech, *Love's Labour's Lost IV.* 3. 290 ff.

294. Read *l[a]etaris n[un]quam*

V. notes *ad fin.*

311. *sudaine* : adjective, « prompt » « ready and willing » (cf. l. 876). The sense is thus « You should soon find me ready and willing [to] dare », etc. For the use of the infinitive without « to », formerly more extended, v. Franz, *Shaksp. Gram.* § 493.

320. Read after [:]

328. : both texts read « *exter* » for « *enter* ». The Bawd's name (*Veneria*) occurs only here.

337. Read

Doe[,] doe [—] drinke and be fatter still [—] up with 't [—]

339. *I* : for « *aye* ». So again in ll. 355, 366.

343. *Richard's footnote :

palam : read *pal[m]am*

mercenarie : read *mercenariæ*

Cap. 62 : read *Cap. 63*

350. Read *Diasaterion*[,]

Cantharides : well known as a provocative ; named as a poison in *The Vicious Courtier* l. 124.

Diasaterion : frequently mentioned in the *Pharmacopœias* of the late middle ages ; e. g. in the *Ricettario fiorentino* (1498) and the *Dispensatorium* of Valerius Cordus (1546).

In the former work, prescriptions are given for both « *Diasaterion* » and « *Diaserterion* » : both complicated electuaries, composed chiefly of spices, honey, sugar, and above all the tubers of the *Orchis*, which formerly (as still in the East) were regularly used as an excitant. These tubers, now known as *Radix Salep*, formerly bore the names *Radix Satyrii*, *Radix Satyrionis*, and (from their resemblance to the testicles of the smaller animals) *Testiculi Vulpis* (Arabic *ssalab*, whence the modern *Salep*). The resemblance just named led, under the « doctrine of signatures » to the belief in its effect as an excitant ; for this fantastic Paracelsian doctrine taught that the « *arcana* », the remedies which according to Paracelsus (1493-1541) were mystically connected with the « *essences* » of diseases (disease being produced by adverse spiritual forces), were often recognizable by resemblances to certain parts of the body. The imputation of exciting properties to the *Radix Salep* is not corroborated by modern investigations. These prescriptions of the

old Pharmacopœias are derived from Arabic writers on medicine. [Facts kindly communicated, through Professor E. Koepfel, by Professor E. Schaer, Director of the *Pharmazeutisches Institut* of Strassburg University].

Eringoes : cf. e. g. *Ram Alley* (Dodsley-Hazlitt X, pp. 317, 366) ; Marston's *Insatiate Countess* II. 168.

351. *Oysters* : a classical provocative, cf. Juvenal *Sat.* VI. 301.

Alligant = Alicant « a kind of wine made at Alicante in Spain ». (N. E. D. examples date from c. 1500 to 1693).

356. Read *dayes* [!]

358. *shrimpes* : the reference is to the *Membrum virile*. The Bawd boasts that she is still able to « lay », put down many of them in such a manner that they could never « rise », stand erect, again. Calphurnia's « Pox » (l. 360) confirms this ugly interpretation. The Bawd says « as thee », it is true ; but probably we have here « thee » for « thou », an example of the frequent case-shifting of the pronouns. Cf. Shakespeare's use of « thee » for « thou » (Franz, *Shaksp. Gram.* § 134) ; and for the phenomenon in general cf. Jespersen, *Progress in Language*, cap. VII.

362. *witchcraft, Circean charmes* : Cf. l. 817 f. ; Juvenal, *Sat.* VI. 610 ff. The phrase *Circean charmes* occurs again in l. 2400 f., but there it may be applied to physical attractions.

367. *Mad-dames* : for « Madams », with a pun on « mad dames ». The same pun is hinted, more aptly, in l. 1906 (« mad-madam Lepida »).

369. Read

Calphurnia loathes varietie of men[.]

Times big bone[d] Animalls[,] so apt to please

Th' Empresse[s] will[,] whets not my appetite[.]

Times : v. note on l. 247.

whets for whet, v. note on l. 161.

375. Read *cost*[.]

377. The following lines to 404 are to be read as prose, with some (probably accidental) verses imbedded therein : 379-83, 387-9, 391, 393, 395, 398, 401. Cf. Introduction, p. 58 § 8 (2). Stitch finishes his speech with a rhymed tag (ll. 404-5).

387. *Punies* : the usual sense of *puny* is « small » (as noun, a small fellow, a small creature, v. N. E. D.) hence this vague contemptuous use.

402 ff. The repetitions in Stitch's speech are probably printer's insertions, to obtain ten-syllable lines out of what was intended as prose.

Read

Oh, 'tis a goodly brave profession; 'tis the best streame to fish in[.]

Be [he] ne'r so impious

Gold stiles the royall villaine vertuous.

415. *bold* : transitive verb, meaning « make bold, embolden ».

Cf. N. E. D., which illustrates this use from *King Lear*, V. 1. 26 :

« It toucheth us, as France invades our land,

Not bolds the King. »

419-430. The Bawd's indignation at the « grossness » and « abominableness » of Silius' chastity recalls the scene between the Bawd, Boulton and Marina in *Pericles* IV. 6. 140 ff.

« *Bawd*. How now ! what's the matter ?

Boulton. Worse and worse, mistress : she has here spoken holy words to the Lord Lysimachus.

Bawd. O ! Abominable. » etc.

Still, if Richards borrowed the hint, he deserves credit for the drastic humour of his detail — the Bawd's contempt for the degeneracy of the age (l. 349 ff.) and her pride in her seniority in her calling (l. 468 f.).

419. The first three lines of this speech of the Bawd's give good enough verse, turning to prose in the next three lines (422-4). Emendation is possible, but probably out of place here; cf. note on l. 377. Line 427 again is defective.

427. *Hoy day* : 16th-17th century spelling for « Hey-day », repeated in l. 467. For further examples, v. N. E. D.

429. Read to[o] ;

430. *Gogs nigs* : « Gog », one of the corrupt forms of « God » employed in oaths from a desire to avoid the actual use of the sacred name. In his paper on *Figures of Imprecation* (Eng. Stud. XXIV 16 ff.) Swaen has collected many oaths with « Gog's », but the Bawd's « Gogs nigs » is not among them. N. E. D. quotes W. Cartwright's *Ordinary* (1651) IV. i. 59 « Godsnigs, the Farme is mine » — but offers no explanation of « nigs ». Wright (*Dialect Dict.*) notes « Nig » as meaning « a small piece » ; perhaps this, in an obscene application is the meaning here. Similar figures are Snigs, Udsniggers (cf. Swaen, pp. 45, 53).

445. Read Spirits [!]

447. *curious* : « difficult to satisfy, fastidious ». Cf. « o're curious Dame » l. 1915 ; « Be not curious to curle thy haire » (Lyly, *Euphues*, 118).

448. Read Pruriently pleasing... beautie.

459. *cursing of your Sex* : for this construction with « of », instead of the modern transitive use of the verb, cf. Franz *Shaksp. Gram.* § 360, where many instances of similar double constructions of transitive verbs are noted.

460. *Sinne affected* : read as compound adjective « sinne[-]affected »
« Your sinne affected trimings to entice

Which implicates the wretched mind of man »

is object to « cursing of », parallel with « your Sex », l. 459. *Implicates* plural, cf. note on l. 161.

462. *Crying* : coördinate with « cursing » l. 459. The dependence of the sentence as a whole is thus « I hear those souls... cursing of your Sex (and) your trimmings to entice... ; (and) crying with horror » etc. For the use of asyndeton, cf. Introduction, p. 63.

463. This couplet (463-4) is quoted from *The Flesh* (C. P.) ll. 25-6.

465. *detracted* : « turned from ». For this rare meaning, cf. N. E. D. « detract » II. 4.

trow = trow = I trow.

467. ll. 467-9 are prose.

480. Supply [till Lust] after « sotishnesse, »

485. Cf. Juvenal, *Sat.* VI. 599-609.

489. *cap* : read c[ul]p.

490. In this scene Messalina's speeches are marked *Emp.* ; so in l. 2212 ff. In all scenes where the Emperor appears (e. g. l. 521 ff.) *Emp.* is reserved for his speeches, Messalina's being marked *Mess.* *Mess.* is, however, used also in scenes where the Emperor does not appear (e. g. l. 802 ff.). The shifting use never causes any difficulty.

494. Read Cajus[.]

495. *Breath, breath* : this spelling of the verb *breathe* was common during the 16th, 17th and 18th centuries [N. E. D.].

506. Omit this,

Read with [i]t

Thus read the line

(As I began). Up with [i]t [!] So, tis well[.]

514. Read *ex[eun]t*

517. Read *ex[sun]t*

518. Read Emperour Claudius,

521. Read time [!] The

523. Transfer « in » from end of l. 523 to beginning of l. 524.

The reading would be improved by transposing l. 522 and l. 523 ; but the order in the text may well have been Richards'.

Hostia : correctly Ostia as in l. 512. The mistake is repeated in ll. 2052, 2247, 2265 ; so that it was probably Richards', not the printer's.

524. *deare* : read deare[r]. The line as amended (v. note on l. 523) has an extrametrical syllable. Probably the second syllable of « deare[r] » is to be slurred.

527. Read [of] which if want of health

Should bate thee joy[,] Cæsar were not himselfe [:]

The antecedent of « which » is « love ». « If want of health should lessen for thee the joy of our love, Cæsar were not himself ». The meaning gains in force if we read *the* instead of *thee*.

535. Read my royall Foole [!]

Shallow braine[,] fop, dull ignorance[,] adieu [!]

Perhaps we should read « Shallow-braine[d] fop, »

539. Read

Now is the wisht[-]for time to crowne delight[,]

Turn night to day[,] and day into the night[.]

Prepare for stirring Masque, midnight revells[,]

« Turn » is infinitive coördinate with « crowne ».

« Prepare » is imperative coördinate with « haste » (l. 543).

For use of asyndeton, v. Introduction, p. 63.

541. note that the 4th and 5th feet are trochaic, cf. *Introd.*, p. 61(6).

543. Notice the mixed metaphor « Adamants »... ..« their spungie vertue ». Cf. *Introduction*, p. 63 (3).

551. Richards was of course thinking of Medusa's *hair* : but the phrasing is rather confused. Cf. *Introduction*, p. 63 (3).

554 ff. Read (repunctuating only) :

Spoke like yourselfe[,] beyond thought excellent [!]

O it becomes you rarely[,] Think what you are [!]

All glory drosse is, in comparison

Of that all rare inestimable worth

You truly owe[,] All admir'd beautie past[,]

And that to come[,] with full attractive force

Have fixt their lively characters in you[,]

Divinest faire [!] Earth breathes not such another [!]

561. *Earth breathes not such another* : another phrase where sense is subordinated to sound. The meaning is clear : « on earth breathes not » or « earth possesses not ». The construction combines the two phrases.

566. *too* : read to

571. *Stagerites* : probably a new derivative from *stager* (= actor) plus the suffix *-ite*, to which Richards may have been stimulated by recollection of « the Stagirite », Aristotle, distantly connected, in Richards' mind, with the stage, through the *Poetics*. For « Stagirite » occurs also the form « Stagerite » (Ben Jonson, *Underwoods*, VIII. 403) which supports our explanation.

572. *Troilus* : a modern touch. Troilus is not a likely hero for a drama played in Messalina's time.

579. [T]he : both texts read « he » with the T dropped.

580. Read

And therefore

Already here in court, I have prepar'd him.

585. *mount'aine* : read mount[ing]

596. Saufellus' exit is marked at l. 591. His re-entry should therefore be marked between ll. 595-6. Neither text gives the direction.

601. Read To ravish pleasure[,]

603. Read death[.]

606. Both metre and sense would be improved by omitting « I » ; Richards may however have written the repeated « I » for emphasis.

Read Pompeys spacious.

610. *this orbe of mans circumference* : cf. l. 947, which repeats the phrase. *Orbe of man* must be regarded as a compound (on the model of the Latin *orbis terrarum*) and the genitive is a group-genitive applying to the phrase as a whole — « the circumference of this orbe of man », « the whole of this microcosm ». *Microcosme* is used with exactly the same force, l. 1104 ; cf. also l. 1761 and note. Concerning the English group-genitive cf. Jespersen, *Progress in Language*, cap. VIII.

614 ff. Read

The good I then presented[.]

But now a coward plague, or else some Fiend

Rais'd from the Pit of feare, hath all my goodnesse
To a period dropt ;
And I[,] like chaffe blowne on this wide world's stage,
Am now to act my owne part,

For the metre of ll. 616-7, v. Introduction, p. 59 f.

621. Read refusal[.] Dead [:] a word

623. Read Exprest[.] If

The sense is « a word that, merely hinted, makes even the most valiant man quake ».

625. Read dead[.]

626. Read

'Mong petty eminent persons now 'tis common ;
Then Princes cannot faile, their Armes are long
And large[.] Compulsion bids me on[.]

We may explain l. 628, as rearranged, simply as a four-beat line ; or may regard ll. 627-8 as a case of the device discussed in the Introduction, p. 59 f. In the latter case « are long » does double duty, and the « embedded » line thus runs

« Are long and large. Compulsion bids me on ».

631. *favourers* : read favours

632. *Richards' footnote : Tacit. [*Ann.*] XI. [36].

635. Read

For feare to die [?] I must [—] I will not [!] keepe

638. *the Center* : centre of the earth, as so commonly. Cf.

« I will find where the truth is hid, though it were hid indeede
Within the Center » (*Hamlet* II. 2. 159).

652. *doe* : i. e. « commit the sexual act » ; so again in l. 2066. Cf.
« the Act » (l. 302) = « the [sexual] Act ».

654. Read

Shall our high favours
(Equall to base and mercinare Trulls['])
Prove common put[-]offs [?] What say you now[,] Sir [?]

Cf. l. 915 f.

« And must our high-borne favours be [so] slighted,
Put off with bare perswasives ? »

659. Read

This torment[.]
O let me downe [!] My paine, but not my minde
Yeelds to your bed [:] I doe consent, consent !

666. f. slightly recall a couplet in *The Celestiall Publican*, followed more closely in ll. 1625 f., q. v.

678. Read fast [;]

i. e. « fast asleep » cf. l. 1503.

680. Read strange [!]

681. Lines 681-4 all exhibit metrical peculiarities, even after rearrangement. Read

I feare (nor is't unlike) my daughter,
My most ambitious, irreverent daughter,
Dead to good counsell, now in great *Cæsars* absence,
Most apt for ill[,] takes her full flight

Scan l. 681 as a catalectic line, cf. Intro. p. 61 ; l. 682 My most | ambi|tious | irre|verent daugh|ter ; l. 683 with epical cæsura after *counsell* ; l. 684 as a four-beat line.

685. This alliterative line is repeated exactly, l. 2582.

686. Read

Now at this instant wrongs him [;]
And that the Gods, whose eyes see blackest deeds,
Doe see and abhorre ; and therefore caused me thus
To wake from dea[th] resembling sleepe, to pray[,]
T'oppose her ill with good[,] Heaven I obay.

701. Read

3. O save us form the Rape, death doggs us at the heeles.
1. Our parents and husbands
Slaine in their beds this night, have payd lifes forfeit
For our escape.

2. For whom there is no hope

For the alexandrine in the first line in our arrangement, cf. Introduction p. 61.

711. bard = barred (cf. star'd = starred, l. 228).

712. Read

Harke, harke,
They come, that fatall bell rings their approach [!]
Turn us to Ayre[,] some whirlewind, ere we perish
Through spotted whoredome.

718. Read

And have we found you out [?]
O you abominable pictures of peevish vertue [!]
Ye thread bare[,] thin cheek't chastitie[s !] Ye Puppets [!]

Scan l. 719: O you abo|mina|ble pic|tures of pee|vish virtue — combining the vowel of *you* and the initial *a* of *abominable*. Richards frequently uses *ye* for *you* (cf. ll. 720, 721, 723), and elides the vowel altogether before a vowel (e. g. l. 285; cf. Davenport's commendatory verses, ll. 82, 86). For the disyllabic Auftakt, cf. Goswin König, *Der vers in Shakspeares Dramen*, p. 87.

722. Read amaz'd [!] If

724. *Them*: Note this (now uneducated and dialectal) use of *them* as nominative; cf. Franz, *Shakesp. Gramm.*, § 137.

728. Read

To shine in pearle and gold[, to] flow in treasure.

731. Both texts give (as the concluding word of l. 731, for which there is not room in the same line) « breath » printed level with l. 730, and « throat » printed level with l. 732. This is very strong evidence for the unrevised state, not only of the proofs, but also of the MS. itself; cf. Introduction p. 59.

743. Scan with missing Auftakt; for this before a preposition, as here, cf. ll. 1713-4.

756. *damb'd* = *damn'd*, cf. *dambe*, ll. 988, 1578; a 17th century form (cf. N. E. D.).

757. Read Manutius [!] Folio [!]

The vowel *i* in *iu*, *io* is slurred. Note the epical cæsura, cf. Introduction p. 61 (5).

764. Read lies[,] slaine

769. Note the asyndetic use of the verbs in ll. 769-71: « take, hang her... teare, eate her... I must to Court[,] there prosecute... » For other cases of asyndeton, so frequently used by Richards, v. Introduction p. 63 (6).

770. Read alive[.]

775. *totter'd*: cf. ll. 798-800. For « tatter'd ». The word seems to have been pronounced thus for a long time; e. g. King John V. 5 — « And wound our totter'd colours clearly up ».

For further examples v. N. E. D. The phonetic difference between the two forms was inconsiderable; cf. Horn, *Untersuchungen zur Neuenglischen Lautgeschichte*, p. 30, where many examples are given for the converse phenomenon — the vowel « *a* » occurring for « *o* », e. g. *sprat* for *sprot*. « Zur beachten ist auch, dass vom 16.-18. Jahrh. gelegentlich *a* für *o* geschrieben wird, z. B. *Tamas* = *Thomas*, *cratchet* = *crotchet* » (Horn, *Historische Grammatik*, I. 45).

775-780 are prose, though one verse (l. 778) is embedded therein. This prose passage is introduced in the middle of verse. Even the previous three lines of this speech are metrical, and verse is resumed at l. 781. Probably Richards intended to versify the whole passage later, cf. Introduction p. 59.

783. Read ll. 783-4 as one verse, with arsis missing after the pause, cf. Introd. p. 60 (1).

785. Read ll. 785-6 as one verse.

790. *Tickle* : so, by a misprint, in both texts ; the repetitions reading correctly *tickle, tickle*.

792. Read O wonderfull [!] What's that[,]

There[,] betwixt thy teeth [?] Gape [!]

797. Transfer *but* from end of l. 797 to beginning of l. 798.

804. Scan *dalliance* as a trisyllable (cf. l. 730), and transfer *which* from end of l. 804 to beginning of l. 805.

805. Scan *Silius* as a disyllable (cf. l. 810) : Which Si|lius gives |

Forum : very vague, as « many places bore the name of *Forum*, wherever... the prætor held his court of justice ». Here the reference is pretty certainly to *Forum Augustum*, in Rome itself (cf. Ovid, *Fast.* 5 v. 552) ; Messallina's « though it be neare at hand » (l. 806) being confirmed by Tacitus, *Ann.* XI. 35, where the account of Claudius' descent on Silius' house shows that it was in Rome itself.

810. Read *Cajus Silius*

812. *breath* : cf. l. 495 and note.

818. *Monarch of flames* : Chapman invokes the « King of flames » in *Bussy d'Ambois*, but of course no inference of a debt on Richards' part need be drawn.

For other cases of missing arsis after the pause, before a strongly-stressed syllable, cf. Introduction p. 60 (1).

820. *with* : read wi[n]

821. Scan with epical cæsure, cf. Introduction p. 61 (5) : And send | them tumbling || to th' A|charu|sian Fen

823. Read *Abyesse*[.]

829. Scan : Ha | what's this ? | Cease | that Mu|sicke there. For the use of an interjection to fill a complete foot, v. Goswin König p. 85. For the missing thesis after the pause, cf. Introduction p. 60(2).

835. For the metre of the song of the Furies, v. Introd. p. 62.

844. *night* : « [m]ight » would give a better reading, but « night » is quite possible.

860. *And Scarfe* : the construction demands « [I'll] scarfe ». Richards may have written *And*, loosely continuing the *cease to enchant* of the preceding line.

Read neck my Ivory Arme[,]

863. If the punctuation is left unaltered in ll. 863-4, *glances* and *embracements* must both be taken as in the genitive case. This is possible, but repunctuation yields a much better reading : —

Amorous glances[,] stirring dalliance,

Embracements[,] passions,

Then *glances* is object of *shoot* (l. 862) : *dalliance*, *embracements*, *passions* are coördinate objects of *stirring*.

867. Richards again subordinates sense to sound : *Ambrosiack kisses* is coördinate with *pleasures sweets* : thus Richards writes « enveloped with kisses » !

876. Scan

Thy wife | Sylla|na || be su|daine kill | her — with arsis missing after the pause (cf. Introduction p. 60 (1)) and an extrametrical final syllable.

880. *Richards' footnote : *Tacit. [Annales] XI [12]*.

For *faminam* read *f[e]minam*

For *exjurbaret* read *ex[t]urbaret*

881. Read *body*[,]

881-2. *undebard Least let to pleasure* : for « undebard [by] least let » etc. Again, the general sense being clear, Richards uses a loose construction.

896. Read *destruction* [!]

905. Read *threat[en] despaire* and *ruine*,

915. The metre suggests the emendation « be [so] slighted » ; but examples of a trochee as the fifth foot, harsh though it is, occur in our play, cf. Introduction p. 61.

918. For *emminence* read *emminen*[t] :

Let mighty Queenes, majestick[,]¹ *emminen*[t]

In the high pitch of their ambition[,]¹ *learne*

929. Read now [!] *Like*

934. *impale* : cf. *The Rebellion*, IV. ad fin. (Dodsley-Hazlitt, XIV. p. 77) : —

« Tell them that Raymond, ere the hasty sand

Of a short hour be spent, shall be impal'd,

And on his brow, a deputy for France,
Support a golden wreath of kingly cares ».

935 ff. Read (repunctuating only) :

Like *Jove* and *Juno*[.] in a nuptiall knot
Wee'l knit the bands of *Hymen*, and outshine
The glorious Tapers of the golden Sunne,
Whirle through the stately streets of spacious *Rome*
Like glistring *Phaeton*[.] in an Orient chaire[.]
That with the bare report, swift fame shall strike
Amazement through the world[.] Monarchall state [!]
All-gazing eyes[.] fixt on our rich attire[.]
Languish in dreames[.] our stately state admire.

In the last two lines (942-3) *eyes* is subject to *languish* and *admire*, the two sentences being coördinated without connective, as so often by Richards ; cf. Introduction p. 63 (6). *Languish* and *admire*, present tense for future.

The closing lines afford another example of Richards' concern for high-sounding phrases rather than clear sense (cf. Introduction p. 62 (3)).

*Richards' footnote on l. 935 : *Tacit. [Annales XI. 26]*. Richards, taking the passage out of its context, has to supply *Messallina*. Further, he omits *tamen* (after *nomen*) to make the quotation harmonise with his complete transfer of the proposal of marriage from *Silius* to *Messallina* (v. Introduction, p. 38).

cst : read [c]st.

946 ff. A still stronger case of the characteristic noted in ll. 942 f. The meaning is « As the Nile overflows its banks, so ambition (« ambitious blood ») floods my whole being, and drives me to evil actions ». Richards' absurd phrasing, making « blood o'erflow like the banks of Nile » shows once more the danger of construction by sound, not sense.

947. *this Orbe of mans circumference* : cf. l. 610 and note.

948. Read ill[.]

949. *Lavolto* : the substantive *Lavolto* is of course common (*Lavolta*, 16-17th century *Lavolto*, « a lively dance for two persons, consisting a good deal in high and active bounds » — N. E. D.). The verbal use, here exemplified, is however very rare. Only three cases are cited by the N. E. D., and one of these is from the 19th century : —

« The legs... they leapt, they daunced, and I levalted to the Vials

of Vanitie » Nashe, *Almond for Parrat* [1590]; « How he sallies and lauoltos » Nashe, *Lenten Stuffe*, 36 [1599]; « Lavolting » W. Tennant, *Thane of Fife*, II. 65. [1822].

The sense is clear — « dance gaily », and so « exult wantonly ». Cf. l. 1577, where the words probably give both the literal and the figurative sense :

« thy whorish fortitude

Dancing Lavoltos in the very Act ».

The meaning would be perfectly clear when the words were accompanied by action, instead of the pallid stage direction *Exit Sil. Presenting his naked Poniard*. Silius would seize his poniard at « Aspiring Armes », draw it with a clash and a flourish at « Lavolto », and go off brandishing it to suggest the exuberant murderousness of the ambitious villain.

952. It seems almost certain that ll. 952-961 were added as an afterthought, and that originally l. 962 followed immediately on l. 949. First, the name of Messallina, as speaker, is not given by either text at l. 952, but appears (in the middle of the speech as it now stands) at l. 962. Further, if these lines, with their reference to the twenty-five lovers, had already been written, Richards would scarcely have continued « Shall Messallina ...live singular to one » (l. 964). The rhymed couplet (ll. 960-1) also supports this view : Richards would quite naturally finish the insertion, as if it were an independent speech, with a couplet.

The lines were probably inserted because Richards felt that the transition from l. 949 to l. 962 was rather abrupt ; ll. 952-961 are intended to smooth it, and to form a link between the scene with Silius, just ended, and Messallina's general declaration of her intentions. They would probably be squeezed in, in the MS., in the space to the left of the stage direction ; above the name (already written) of Messallina. This mistake affords evidence that the MS. was not thoroughly revised for the press (cf. note on l. 731, and Introduction, p. 59).

952. Supply [thou,] after *Goe*

For *power* read power[ful]

Thus read

Goe [thou,] the influence of whose power[ful] starres

Mounts[,] thy imperiall lot to set aloft

957. *Jove-like Ganimends* : Ganimends, for Ganymedes. Possibly we should read « like Jove's Ganymede » ; but it is by no means improbable that Richards wrote the swelling nonsense as it stands, cf. Introduction, p. 62 (3). The allusion is of course to the twenty-five « proper and goodly able men » to whom Messallina prostituted herself for her wager against Calphurnia (l. 341 ff.).

958. Read who[.]

963. Read tame Nobilitie[.]

966. Read in'tl[.]

971. Transfer « slave » from beginning of l. 972 to end of l. 971.

975. *the* : read the[e]

that is demonstrative, with contemptuous force. The sense is « Murder in thee... and in that [wretch], thy substitute ; murder, ordained by thee against the most chaste of women ». Or, as an alternative, *by thee ordain'd* may be taken as qualifying *substitute* ; in this case read « substitute[.] by the[e] ordain'd[.] ». For the former reading, which I prefer, read « substitute[.] by the[e] ordain'd »

977 f. Perhaps the worst case of mouth filling nonsense in the play (cf. Intro. p. 62 (3)). Richards probably wrote with a distorted recollection of the famous passage in *Macbeth* (II. 2) :

« ...this my hand will rather

The multitudinous seas incarnadine

Making the green one red ».

980. *Then* = *than* (as repeatedly throughout the play, and in earlier and in contemporary literature, cf. N. E. D.), here with the force of « rather than ». Some instances of this curious omission of the comparative « rather » before « than » have been collected by Professor Koeppl in his paper *Ellipse des Komp. vor than, Engl. Stud.* XXX, p. 376 ff.

985. The couplet 985-6 strikes, for the benefit of the audience, the key-note of Richards' conception of the relation between Lepida and Messallina (cf. Introduction p. 46).

986. Lepida's exit is not marked. It probably occurs at the end of l. 986.

988. Transfer *your* from end of l. 988 to beginning of l. 989. Scan l. 988 as a four-beat line with epical cæsura (cf. Introduction p. 129) : Goe and | a mis|chiefe dambe | you || and all |

The alternative is to scan ll. 988-9 together as an Alexandrine with epical cæsura. The first scansion is preferable, since Richards very rarely begins a speech with a short verse.

989. Read ll. 989-90 as one verse. Scan « pittifull » as disyllabic, cf. Abbott, § 467 : Your pit|tifull Sex. |

992. *which* : the antecedent is *performance*.

999. *enseame* : N. E. D. gives two examples where this verb means « to stitch up in » or « to enclose » : « A jewel... which one stole away, and enseamed it in his thigh » *Camden Rem.* [1605] 35 ; Jupiter halted when Bacchus was encsamed in his thigh » *ibid.* 66. — From the meaning « to enclose » we can derive the meaning in our present case — « to enclose in an embrace ».

1005. Another example of the epical cæsura (cf. Introd. p. 61 (5)).

1009. This line occurs also in *The Single and Married Life* (v. Introduction p. 22) and is probably original to that poem (on the evidence of the setting and its fixture by rhyme), though it was not published until after *Messallina* (1642).

1012. Another example of the epical cæsura.

1015. Read ll. 1015-6 as one verse — again with the epical cæsura.

1021. Read

Nature constraines me back[.] What though dismai'd [?]
Shall I desist [?]

As alternative, though I think less good, we may read

What[!] though dismai'd[.]

1023. *demeane* : a common alternative form for *demeanour*. The latest date of its use given by the N. E. D. is 1756.

1024. *I'll make my foot my head* : Cf. *The Tempest*, I. 2. 420 (Prospero rebukes Miranda) : — « What ! I say :

My foot my tutor ? »

1028. Read To [']rest (= arrest). *Messallina* recalls l. 991, and Lepida's « unmannerly exclames » which attempted to make her « arrest », or interfere with, her command. The abbreviation occurs in *The Comedy of Errors* IV. ii, 42, 45, iv. 3. Cf. Abbott, § 460.

1035. Cf. *The Spirituall Seafight* v. 21 f. (Introd. p. 5).

« My Soul's a Ship, tost on the Mountaine Seas

Of this vast World, she neuer liues at ease ».

which like : the construction is a little obscure, though the sense is clear. The antecedent of *which* is *soule* (l. 1033) ; and *like* is used as a conjunction (for *as* — a frequent, though loose use ; cf. N. E. D.). Richards probably wrote *which*, intending to make it the object of a verb following (« which... death whirls ») ; but through the expansion of the intervening simile changed the construction,

repeating *soule* (l. 1040) and making the sentence independent; thus leaving *which* without grammatical function. Richards would pass the anacoluthon unnoticed, through his frequent careless use of the relative.

1036. *Cuft* : cf. l. 2370 « Cuft with incessant stormes »

1042. *Tumbling descend* : read 'Tumbling [it] 'scend[s]

1043 ff. The phrases used of hell slightly resemble those in Rawlins' *Rebellion* IV. 1 (published after *Messallina*, v. note on l. 175).

1047. *take place* : the sense is « take effect » ; possibly the rather strained use may be explained by the mediation of the idea « take place among those tears having force to move ».

1049. The couplet 1049-50 is taken with slight alterations from *The Divell* vv. 43-4 (Introd. p. 13 f.), where it runs

« There's feare aboute us, feare beneath us,
Feare round about, and yet no feare within us ».

1060. Note *exit* for *ex[eun]t*.

1068. Cf. Sallust, *Cat.* 50, 20 « mortem aerumnarum requiem ».

1084. The Furies, according to Hesiod, were *daughters* of Night. Richards may mean simply « belonging to, proper to the night » (cf. « a deed of darkness ») without thought of mythological reference.

1092. Read *Madam Lust*[,]

1096. Cf. *The Spanish Tragedie* I. 1. 65

« Where bloudie furies shake their whips of steele ».

Richards had already copied the passage in which this line occurs, in *The Divell* (cf. Introduction p. 13 f.).

1099. The texts omit to indicate Lepida's exit, after l. 1099.

1100. *Syllana drawn out upon a Bed as sleeping* : This is to the best of my knowledge the latest case of such a direction. Even the older stages possessed a simple inner stage, disclosed by drawing back a curtain which formed part of the background of the front stage ; and our picture of the stage, on the title-page, strongly suggests quite an extensive inner stage (v. note ad loc.). The explanation of our stage direction is probably, that speeches from the inner-stage would be less distinctly audible than if spoken from the front stage, for the voice would tend to lose itself towards the sides, behind the curtains which formed the background of the front stage. In brief scenes, or scenes involving no long dialogue, this would not greatly matter : and such are the majority of « inner-

stage » scenes. Here, however, a long dialogue follows between Syllana (still in bed) and Silius ; and to ensure that it should be clearly heard, the scenic advantage of « discovering » Syllana asleep are sacrificed, and the bed is « drawn out » onto the front stage.

We have in our play a probable case of the use of the inner stage in l. 1508 ff. ; the banquet is probably « discovered » ; but the dialogue (l. 1513 ff.) would take place on the front stage.

For parallels to the direction *Syllana drawn out upon a Bed*, and for discussion of the whole question of the use of the inner stage, v. my article « On the English Stage before the Restoration » (*Fahrbuch der Deutschen Shakespeare-Gesellschaft*, 1908) ; and Albright, *The Shaksperian Stage* (1909) p. 144 ff.

1103. The idea of good and bad genii attendant on man was apparently a favourite conception of Richards' ; cf. ll. 593, 2140.

waights = waits

1107. The antecedent of *which* is *vertue* (l. 397).

1108. Read crown'd[.]

Perhaps we should read *immortall*[.] but the text-reading is possible, *immortall* being used adverbially (cf. *triumphant*) modifying *blest*.

1109. Cf. l. 1603 : « Plummets of licentious will ». Note how Richards mixes his metaphors in ll. 1109-14 (cf. *Introd.* p. 63).

1112. Read *impell*

1114. Such like : refers to *plummets of blacke vice* l. 1109.

1115. The scansion needs *Emp[re]sse* — a form used in l. 1524. Richards hesitates between *Empresse* and *Emperesse*, often writing *Emp'resse* (e. g. ll. 1424, 1492, 1631). He again writes *Emp'ressse* but scans *Emp[e]resse* in l. 1379. Cf. note on l. 2291, where *Mistris* must be scanned *Mist[e]ris*.

1118. *Like* : conjunction, for *as*.

Read *states*[.]

1125. Read *Spring*[.]

1127. *connex* : infinitive. Monosyllables, such as the « to » of the infinitive, are often omitted (cf. ll. 1734, 1738, 2485). *Connex* = connect, cf. N. E. D., where the examples date 1589-1699.

1138. Read *alone*[.]

1144. *lomard* : I cannot find any other instance of the use of this word. N. E. D. does not give it. Its meaning is certainly « poniard » (cf. ll. 950 f., 1182) and I strongly suspect that it is merely a mis-

print ; or rather, a misreading of the MS. by the printer. « m » for « ni » is at once comprehensible ; and, as *Poniard* is written with capital P in both the stage-directions cited, it would probably be so written here also. A carelessly written P, run on to the next letter, might easily be misread as l.

1156. Read ll. 1156-7 as one verse, with thesis missing after the pause ; cf. Introduction p. 60 (2).

1162. The subject of *out sings* and *fiers* is *that modell of creation* (l. 1158).

This mansion : the mansion of Silius' spirit, his whole being ; cf. *this Fabrick* (l. 1385), *this Orbe of man's circumference* (ll. 610, 947).

1163. Read

With haut Ambition, *Romes* imperiall crowne[.]

haut : high, arrogant (O. F. *haut*, *halt*, ME. *hault*, *haute*, *haut* ; cf. N. E. D.). Richards repeats the phrase, spelling it *haute ambition*, l. 1621.

Romes imperiall crowne : governed by *with* coördinate with *ambition*, which it loosely explains.

1193 f. This couplet is perhaps Richards' deepest fall into utter bathos ; cf. Introduction p. 62 (3).

1196. *Richards' footnote : *Tacit. [Annales XI. 12]*

For *exitio*, read *exilio*

» *nonnullo* read *nonnull[a]*

» *pramiis* read *pra[e]miis*

1197. Read *bel*[,]

1204. Meaning « to put to such *perilous* hazard » (not « to put to hazard for so slight a reason »).

1211. *At court with my continuance* : « by means of my continuance at court ».

1214. Transfer « I » from end of l. 1214 to beginning of l. 1215.

1217. *survive* : read *survive[d]*

1221 f. Cf. « in that right way Man ought to be » (l. 1601 f.).

1223. The antecedent to *Which* is *that right way... be* : the « right way » of the « perfect husband » (i. e. conjugal virtue) « runnes backward » in Silius. The parenthesis must be extended, to include *Never to be avoyded* which qualifies *Fate* : —

Which since in me (ordain'd by powerfull Fate[,]

Never to be avoyded[)] backward runnes,

1225ff. Read

Let my recursion from thy mind expell

That serpent foe to life[,] sad griefe's extreame[,]

As grossely vaine[,] in being remedillesse[;]

And therefore shunne it[,] Patient conjuence

recursion : continuing the phraseology of the preceding line (« backward runnes »). The sense is « Since, though inevitable Fate, virtue is perverted (« backward runnes ») in me, let my very perversion be a reason lessening your grief at losing me ; for your grief is vain, since my perversion excludes the hope of its being remedied by my return to you ».

1228. *conjuence* : the word is not mentioned in N. E. D., and I can find no other case of its use. Probably Richards wrote *conscience*, with a « long » s, a careless *c* and no dot over the *i* ; and the printer read *sci* as *ju*.

1229. Two ways of scanning this line suggest themselves, between which it is difficult to choose :

(1) with missing Auftakt and epical cæsure : Is | the calme | of trouble, || best cure | gainst care |

(2) with double Auftakt and arsis missing after the pause, before the emphatic *best* (cf. *Introd.* p. 60) : Is the calme | of trou|ble, | best cure | gainst care |

1232. The metre would be improved by reading *tho* for *t'* and scanning *heaven* as monosyllabic.

1239. The line is almost certainly corrupt. The only interpretation of the text as it stands is *injoyning* = « giving moral directions » (cf. N. E. D.) ; with the sense, for the whole line « than my being able, free from the act of blood, to give you these directions ». But this is both strained and feeble. I suspect we should read *enjoying freedom* for *injoyning free*. This gives excellent sense. The line then has a disyllabic Auftakt.

1241. *Video meliora proboque deteriora Sequor* : Ovid, *Met.* VII 20 f. Marston quotes *Video meliora proboque* in *The Dutch Courtizan*, II. 2. 103 (cf. *Introduction* p. 41 f.).

1242 ff. Read

Never was man so infinitely bewitch[;]

Charm'd and enchanted[,] as is *Caius Silius*,

To leave a constant wife[,] Farewell [!] We must part.

Syl. Must, must,

O wretched word of mischievous command [!]

Must we part [?]

Sil. Must[,] Nay[,] prethee weepe not[,] sweet.

1244. Note the double dip in the fifth foot, after the strong pause :
« Farewell ! | We must part ». Cf. Goswin König, p. 87.

1247. Read ll. 1247-8 (as arranged above) as one verse, omitting *We* at the beginning of Silius' answer. The omission is necessitated by the metre and supported by the sense : *must* is the word emphasized — hence the impossibility of keeping the text-reading and scanning with double Auftakt.

1256. *Annaus* : read *Annæus* (v. note on l. 188).

1261. Read breed[:] how strange seemes this [!]

1265. Read

Wanting or limbes or libertie, which begets

which refers to *I am sicke* (l. 1264).

2170. *salute thy mother earth* : cf. « Salute our mother earth with ardent zeal » (l. 2129) — where, however, Lepida and Vibidia actually kiss the earth.

1273. Read flight [:] and flie[.]

flie, *Fly* is coördinate with *rest*, *rest* (l. 1272) — imperative, addressed to himself.

Corcyra : an island in the Ionian Sea, opposite Epirus ; now Corfu. The selection of Corcyra is rather pointless, for, so far from having any associations with philosophy, it was the fabled home of Alcinous, whose court was proverbial for luxury. Probably Richards confused it with Corsica, where Seneca lived during his banishment, and whither Mela and Montanus later decide to flee (v. l. 1642).

1279. Read

Prove prosperous[,] my designe upon this brother

To the banisht Seneca[!] Are you c[a]ught[.] Sir ?

1281. A case of « Amphibious section ». The second part of the last line of Montanus' speech, joined to Mela's line, gives a normal verse :

To the ba|nisht Se|neca. || Are you | caught, Sir ? |

Mel. Ha, vill|laine what | art thou ? ||

Cf. Abbott, *Sh. Gram.*, § 513, especially the example from *Macbeth* V. 8. 22.

1285. On metrical grounds it is tempting to transpose, reading

« A villaine and [a] murderer, O Sir », — which further gives a very natural echo to Mela's « Ha, villaine », and makes the emphasis mount from « villaine » to « murderer ». But « a murderer and

villaine » occurs in Hamlet III. 4. 96; and Richards may have written the verse as it stands, with arsis missing at the end of the line (cf. Introduction p. 61 (4)).

1295. Read you[.] Excellent

1296 ff. Cf. *The World*, 41 f. (Introd. p. 8) :

« Ladies with charmes, tricks, humours that they have
Abuse their lords, despatch them to the grave ».

Cf. Juvenal *Sat.* VI. 610 ff.

« Hic magicos affert cantus, hic Thessala vendit
philtro, quibus valeant mentem vexare mariti
et solea pulsa nates; quod desipis, inde est,
inde animi caligo et magna oblivio rerum,
quas modo gessisti. tamen hoc tolerabile, si non
et furere incipias, ut avunculus ille Neronis,
cui totam tremuli frontem Caesonia pulli
infudit; quae non faciet quod principis uxor?
ardebant cuncta et fracta compage ruebant
non aliter quam si fecisset Iuno maritum
insanum ».

Cf. also *Sat.* I. 69 ff.

« occurrit matrona potens, quae molle Calenum
porrectura viro miscet sitiente rubetam,
instituitque rudes melior Locusta propinquas
per famam et populum nigros efferre maritos ».

1301. *Th' ones* : i. e. « The one is » — singular for plural; so « the other » (= « these are... those... »)

1306. Read

What madness durst the like? Deserv'st not death?

1316. Cf. *Hamlet* V. 1. 302 ff.

« Be buried quick with her, and so will I :
And, if thou prate of mountains, let them throw
Millions of acres on us, till our ground,
Singeing his pate against the burning zone,
Make Ossa like a wart ! »

Richards recalls these lines, but changes the application of l. 305, making it an additional torture for the victim.

1316. ff. The construction is disturbed by *Be* in l. 1317. *Partch't* (l. 1316) and *stretcht* (l. 1318) both qualify *I* (l. 1319), and *all torments possible* (l. 1317) is the direct object of *endure* (l. 1319); *buried* should

stand as participle coördinate with the other participles, but Richards inserts *be*, making it an infinitive, object (coördinate with *all torments possible*) of *endure*.

1324. *no budg* : read no[t] budg : budg, a 17th century form = budge (N. E. D.).

1331. Read show[.]

1332. » that[.]

1334. *whom* : refers to *life*. For this use of the personal form with an impersonal antecedent, cf. Franz, *Shaksp. Gram.*, § 202.

1335. The construction changes, after *lesse of*. Hitherto, in ll. 1332-4, *one that* (l. 1332) has been continued as subject ; now it is abandoned, and the sentence continues (*caused me*, etc.) as though the subject were *hope of your faire life*.

1341. Read is[;]

1342. *in part* : read if[m]part, coördinate with *incorporate* l. 1343.

1343. Read incorporate[.]

The sense of ll. 1342-3 is « But there is (virtue in you worthy of praise) ; a miracle of virtue : only impart it to me, incorporate it in me through friendship's regard, and you shall bind me » etc.

1346. The printer has succeeded to admiration in making the confusion of this passage worse confounded. Read

Mel. As I am slow
To friendship's confidence (as 'tis requisite
For ev'ryone[]), and yet[,] once enter'd in[,]
Affect stabilitie, [I] judge you the same [:]
A man that[,] truly sensative[,] well knowes
Vertue to be but meerely adjective[,]
Wanting that soveraigne sweetnesse which directs
The mind to honest Actions ; and therefore
[[As friendship joynes with vertue[]]] truly is
The lover of love [: —] each true friend[']s property [!]
By that true blessing, sundry wills['] connexion,
Our hearts [(as hands[])] unite [—] dilate affection,
That th' enlarge[d] length orbicular may spread[,]
And ne'[e]r finde end.

The meaning of ll. 1349-1355 is : « I judge you to be a man who knows virtue is itself only an adjunct, needing love or friendship as its stay ; a man who therefore (since virtue and friendship are thus connected) truly loves love or friendship its very self. That is a characteristic of every true friend ».

We should esteeme your jarres ridiculous[.]

Issuing from brainlesse wit[.] discern'd in others[.]

1438. *discern'd in others* : = [if] discern'd in others.

1442. *scruze* : = screws.

1454. Read memory[.] behold this booke[.]

1455. *set* : read s[i]t.

1456. *Ens* : some thing which has existence ; a « being », entity, as opposed to an attribute, quality, etc. ; cf. N. E. D. Richards uses *Ens* as a personal name for the Deity ; a use for which we find an 18th century parallel in Matthew Green's once famous and still very readable poem *The Spleen* :

« To thee, Creator uncreate

O Entium Ens ! divinely great ! »

1458. ff. Read.

Which should dull[.] flintie[.] inconsiderate man,

When with black deeds i[']th['] myrie bog of sinne

Beast-like he wallowes[.] consider [a]right,

Thinke on his present state[.] whence came[.] and must[.]

Then on that terrible Thunderer[.] that sees

His actions kick at heaven ; he then no more

Would dare t'offend his Maker, but with teares

Lament his soule's polution [:] which doth give

Matter by which men's soules immortall live[.]

1458. The antecedent to *which* is the whole of l. 1457.

1460. *considers right* : read consider [a]right

The *s* of *considers* (like that of *thinke*, l. 1461) is due to confusion of the constructions « should he consider and « if he considers » ; the influence of *wallowes* (l. 1460) recalling the latter.

1461. *thinke* : = *thinke*, cf. last note.

whence came and must : compressed from « whence he came and whither he must go ».

1463. Cf. « his heels may kick at heaven » (Hamlet III. 3. 95) — there used with both literal and symbolic meaning.

1465. *which* : antecedent, the whole preceding sentence (*with tears... polution*).

1470. *above* : v. note on l. 1415.

1474. Read live [:]

1475. » fight[.]

1480. » then[.] confound us [!]

Cf. ll. 508-10.

The exit of Saufellus, which is not marked in either text, may take place at the end of l. 1479 or of l. 1480, or after *desires* in l. 1482. I think the first the most probable.

1487. Read

Wee'd force him ravish pleasure [;] if not[,] kill [—]

Wee'd extends to *kill*, and to *Be* in the next line; *him* serves as object of *kill*, as well as of *force*. « We'd force him [to] ravish pleasure; if (he would) not, (we'd) kill (him) ».

The phrase « ravish pleasure » is used also in ll. 601, 1548.

1488. Semiramis' unnatural passion was not for her brother, but for her son. Messallina's age would make the exact parallel (with *son* instead of *brother*) ridiculous; and Richards cannot resist the allusion. He takes refuge in the general parallel. Cf. l. 1084 and note.

Messallina's exit (at the end of l. 1488) is not indicated in either text.

1503. *fast* = fast asleep, as in l. 678.

1520. *Richard' footnote : *Tacit.* [Ann. XI. 36]

For *Montano* read *Montan[i]*

Rec[epta] : in both texts, only *rec* is legible, the remaining letters being blotted.

For *ac* read *is*

For *noctemq* ; read *noctemq[ue]*

For *fastidio* read *fastidi[a]*.

Note that Richards extracts from this quotation the entire incident of Montanus' seduction, which he presents in such detail; while, ignoring the immediate connection of the passage, he does not include Montanus among the victims of Claudius' vengeance (cf. *Introd.* p. 48 f.).

1526 f. Read

And I so ill prepar'd [!] I know not what

A sudden earthquake trembles nature's frame,

The meaning is « I know not what unknown force suddenly shakes me ».

nature's frame : for other circumlocutions for « my whole being » v. note on l. 1162.

1529. *It* repeats the subject after the inserted sentence, cf. Franz, *Shaksp. Gram.* § 166.

1530. ff. Compare this scene with that of Silius' seduction (l. 490 ff.) : Silius also feels, when he looks on Messallina's beauty, that

his cool virtue is in danger of giving way before the fire of lust, and can say no more to Messallina than the « O » which is also Montanus' confession of her charms.

1540. Read

why stare[,] as rapt in wonder [?]

1553. Read

To that high power I invoke[,] imp[!]ore[,]

If pleas'd, direct where I may find my friend [!]

implore (for which both texts misprint *impore*) is coördinate with *invoke*, in Richards' favourite style. Richards begins with the intention of using some verb such as « pray », constructed with « to »; and changes the construction in the middle of the sentence. Similarly he changes from the second person of address (l. 1551) to the third (« that high power », l. 1553) and back again (l. 1554).

1555. *Fill* : read [T]ill

assimilate : 17th-18th century form for *assimilate*, with meaning « to liken » « compare » (N. E. D.).

The sense of l. 1555 ff. is « my mind yields [to my grief] and is made restless by it, as a wheel is mastered by the torrent » — rather a fine simile for Richards.

1557. Read wheele[,]

1558. » turnes[,]

1563. » beare[,]

1571. *attempts* stands for *attempt'st*; cf. *laughs* for *langh'st* (l. 1953), and Franz, *Shaksp. Gram.* § 1.

1573. Read more [!]

1575. *Curtian-gulph-like appetite* : cf. Marston, *The Dutch Courtezan* I. 2, 193 ff. : « She's none of... your Curtian Gulfs that will never be satisfied until the best thing a man has be thrown into them »; *Insatiate Countess* IV, 2 : « her gulf-like appetite ».

« *M. Curtius*, a Roman youth who devoted himself to the gods' manes for the safety of his country about 360 years B. C. A wide gap, called afterwards *Curtius lacus*, had suddenly opened in the forum, and the oracle had said that it never would close before Rome threw into it whatever it had most precious. Curtius immediately perceived that no less than a human sacrifice was required. He armed himself, mounted his horse, and solemnly threw himself into the gulf, which immediately closed over his head. *Liv.* 7, c. 6. — *Val. Max.* 5, c. 6 » [Lemprière's *Classical Dictionary*].

1577. Cf. « Whose hot Alarums in the very Act » l. 1828, and note on l. 949.

1580. *For* : both texts read *For* but give *Or* as catchword at the foot of the preceding page. *Or* gives the better reading.

1581. ff. Read

Mon. 'Tis so, and I am happily mistooke[.]
Thy pardon[,] worthy Friend [!] It was my feare
Of further ill made me forget myselfe[.]
Distracted sense, as well it might[.] O ther's

1590. Read you[.] Happy prevention [!]

Metre : if we keep the text reading *Th'act* we have the very exceptional case of a verse with the first four feet trochaic :

Th'act was | wrested | from you|. Happy | preven|tion !

Probably we should read « Th[e] act », scanning the verse with epical cæsura (cf. Introduction p. 61 (5)) :

Th[e] act | was wres|ted from you. | Happy | preven|tion !

1592. *which* : here used as a *personal* relative (= who) (cf. Franz, *Shaksp. Gram.* § 202) ; antecedent, « you » (l. 1590). The intervening sentence (*Happy prevention... joyfull*) stands in parenthesis.

1598. Read *soules*[,]

Cf. « sweet pleasure,

Which angles *soules* to hell, as men hooke fish » (l. 452 f.).

1599. Read

Therefore to be avoyded[.] Ther's no trust
To trust to stay where such infection raignes.
Who is at all times one[,] in that right way
Man ought to be, being circumvolv'd mong those
That by the Plummets of licentious will
Measure their vertues [?] 'Tis impossible.

1601. *Who* : both texts print V V for W. Cf. « in that right way A perfect husband truly ought to be » (l. 1221 f.).

1603. cf. « Plummets of blacke vice » l. 1109.

1608. *sits* : subject, « he », pending from l. 1605.

1613. *Even he, ill company corrupts* : an anacoluthon. *He* correctly repeats the *He* of l. 1605, demanding some such construction as « is corrupted by ill company » ; but Richards changes the verb-construction, and forgets that the verb *corrupts* needs an accusative : *even him* etc. The comma after *he* seems to indicate that the printer assumed the omission of a relative pronoun.

1614. *directs to the indirect* : for a similar half-punning jingle cf. « From the direct to ways directly ill » (l. 253).

1616. *magnanimious* : a 16th-17th century form, v. N. E. D. ; cf. « libidnious » l. 1383, if this be not a printer's error for « libidinous ». The regular form « magnanimous » occurs in l. 1762. Forms with an intrusive i are still common in the vulgar speech, and occur in the mouths of many of Dickens' and Kipling's characters. Cf. the examples quoted by Storm, *Eng. Philologie* I², 818.

1617. Perhaps, on metrical grounds, we should supply [that] at the end of the line ; though the line as it stands is possible — a catalectic line, cf. Introduction p. 61 (4).

1618. Read :

May tend to th['] honour of his count[e]rey,

1620. ff. According to the generally sound maxim that the imperfect line should be postponed as long as possible, we should read

Cankers with envie ; till on the racke of haute

Ambition stretcht, like stubble set on fire

He prove aflame.

Here it is tempting to ignore the maxim and divide the verses after *envie* and *stretcht*. In either case, we have a case of the « embedded line » cf. Introd. p. 59 (a).

haute ambition : cf. l. 1163 and note.

1623. For us, read us

1625. This couplet is quoted with slight alterations from *The Celestiall Publican* ll. 209 f., where it runs :

« Man at the best, his vertu's very little,

His state a Bubble, at the strong'st most brittle ».

1628. Read

to flye

The dire event of future Tragedy[.]

Which[,] as the flame the fire[,] of force must follow

By th'Empresse['] bloody project[,] That Monster

Note the missing arsis after the pause in the last line, cf. Introduction p. 60 (1).

of force : = perforce ; a common form, e. g. cf. *Julius Caesar* IV. 3, 203, Milton, *P. L.* I 144, IV. 813.

1639. *For* : conjunction. « For glassie.... with sinne » must be taken as in parenthesis.

Monorcall = Monarchal ; cf. l. 941.

1642. Read

Make for the Ile of *Corce*[.] Come[,] my deare Friend [!]

Corce : Corsica (French *Corse*) where Seneca lived during his banishment.

1643. Reading « Friend » with l. 1642, we find l. 1643 a syllable short. Probably we should read « we will » for « wee'l ».

1651. *Resembles* : typifies, represents [cf. N. E. D.].

1653. ff. Read

Wonder at your high prudence,
Which to the combination of our Nuptials
Hath charm'd dull Ca[e]sar to a free consent[.]
Behold [!]

to the combination depends on consent.

1655. *Richards' footnote : *Tacit.* [Ann. XI. 27]. Tacitus uses the words to asseverate the truth of the story of the scarcely credible rashness and shamelessness of Messallina and Silius in the public celebration of their nuptials. Richards drags the passage from its context, and misapplies it, to gain apparent support for his contradiction of the passage from Suetonius which he next quotes. Richards has no authority for stating the Emperor's sanction as a fact ; Suetonius mentions the report only to dismiss it (*Claud.* XXIX, quoted by Richards as note on l. 1670), and Tacitus represents Claudius as altogether ignorant of Messallina's proceedings (*Ann.* XI. 13, 29, 30). This contradiction of the authorities seems wanton, for the letter business is quite incidental ; the only object it can serve is to emphasize Messallina's craft and Claudius' trustfulness (cf. Introduction pp. 42, 45 (b)).

1659. The meaning of l. 1659 f. is « May see my lowly fortunes rise to loftiest heights ». Richards is probably thinking of the upwards-sweeping sides of a valley, rising into hills. « Hills that will admit no clouds » i. e. towering above all clouds. The phrasing is not felicitous, but Richards secures the swelling sound which is his chief object in style (cf. Introd. p. 62 (9)).

1663. Another good example of Richards' « much sound and little sense » phraseology.

1665. Read entrap[t]

1669. Transfer to end of l. 1669 the stage-direction *Reade[s]* printed at the end of l. 1670.

1670. *Richards' footnote : *Sueton.* [*Claud.* XXIX] In l. 4 of the quotation, supply « quod » : *periculum [quod] imminere*

1676. Read earth[.]

1678. Read colourabl[e]

1682. Read

Calph. This credulitie in *Cæsar*

Was by her highnesse excellently mannag'd.

Sauf. Sure Joves high love to his lov'd Gænymed

1688. *greet* : i. e. « present themselves », cf. N. E. D.

1690. Transfer *nor* from end of this line to beginning of l. 1691.

l. 1689-90 are to be scanned as one verse, with arsis missing after the pause, before the emphatic « True » (cf. Introduction p. 60 (1)).

1696. *the vertues of your noble Syre* : for Caius Silius the elder v. Tacitus, *Ann.* IV. 18. 19. His « vertues » would be familiar to Richards' public through Ben Jonson's *Sejanus*, I. 1, II. 4, III. 1.

1704. *Scylla's* : read Sylla's

Both texts give as catchword at the foot of the page *That* — the first word of the *second* line on the next page. Read instead *Emp.*

1708. Read Besides[.]

1709. *they* : i. e. the Auspices. *They* repeats the subject after the parenthesis ; cf. l. 1529, and note.

1712. *piercing motives* : cf. « that true peircing motive » l. 2464.

1713. Scan with missing Auftakt.

1714. Scan with missing Auftakt.

1714. *will force the people constant* : i. e. [to be] constant (« in their love and feare » of Silius).

1715. *they in their love* : they = « these piercing motives » (l. 1712) ; *their* = the people's (l. 1714).

1716. Read endear'd[.]

1717. » fear'd[.]

1720. » friendship,[)] completing the parenthesis.

1721. » grant[.]

1722. *Make* and *dig* (l. 1722), *plant* and *make* (l. 1724) are infinitives dependant on *must*, l. 1721.

1725. Read breath[.]

Metre : (1) The line may be scanned with a trochaic second foot, and with the thesis missing after the pause (cf. Introd. p. 60) ;

(2) We may regard it as a case of the phenomenon described in the Introduction p. 59 ; *make* (l. 1724) doing double duty, finishing l. 1724 and at the same time beginning l. 1725. Such a use of a single word is, however, very questionable, and I prefer the former explanation.

draw : infinitive, with the accusative *name* for subject, governed by *make*.

1727 ff. Read my Fathers' losse [!]

That memorable he [(]he that hath stood

The fiery fervour of so many fights,

Came bravely off, and sav'd this Empire[])

Gave unto *Cæsar Rome*[,] and servile senate

Gave all their strength and being [;] and[,] for all[,]

Note that l. 1730 is catalectic, cf. *Introd.* p. 61 (4).

1728. *That memorable he* : subject to *gave* (l. 1731). For the substantival use of *he*, cf. *the most valiant He* (l. 622) and note ad loc.

1728. *hath stood* : loosely used, on account of the metre, for the preterite, parallel with the preterites in l. 1730 ff.

1731. *servile senate* : indirect object of *gave* (l. 1732).

1733. *examples* : read example

1734. For the omission of *him*, required as object of *kill*, cf. omission of *he*, subject of *expos'd*, l. 1738.

1735. Read that[,] — demonstrative pronoun (referring to l. 1734 : « the fact that plots were devised to kill him ») object of « sented » (l. 1736). Explained by the appositional phrase « their machivillian darknesse ».

1736. *sented* : the older, correct form of *scented* ; not the happiest verb to use in conjunction with « darknesse » (l. 1735).

Catchword at foot of page : Scorching : read Scor[n]ing

1740. *So brave... an example* refers to *expos'd his life* ; so that Tiberius, who caused the suicide of the elder Silius, « caus'd an example for all free spirits ».

1743. Read

Val. Brave *Silius*[,] go on

And prosper, and command me ever and all.

Lines 1742-3 together form a normal verse. It is also possible to read « ever[,] and all ». Then *all* = « all of us ».

1746-8. *thanks* (l. 1746) is object of *scornes* (l. 1748) and antecedent to *that* (l. 1747). The sense is thus : « The mind of Silius utterly scorns the thanks (customary among small-minded Princes) which make a brilliant show — like phosphorescent wood — but serve little use ».

shines... serves : plural, cf. l. 161 and note.

1749. Read

The grave *Vergil[i]anus*, during the life

Of *Silius* shall ne[ve]r speake but with
The voice of *Consull* ; he, *Calphurnianus*,

1753. Read to all[.]

Hitherto, from l. 1751 (*he... Trogus*) *Silius* has used the nominative, as though these names were to form the subject of some following verb ; now the construction changes — « to all, renowne shall flow ».

1755. Read

T'expresse the gratitude of *Silius* [;]
And though last nam'd, yet your bright excellence
(The which for gratitude ever remembred)
Best in esteeme, and first ; not unlike
To that rare Iem reserved last to view
For worth and glory [:] to you[,] all the delight

1757. Note omission on metrical grounds of auxiliary *shall be*. *Ever* is emphatic.

1758 (as rearranged) : Note the thesis missing after the pause (cf. Introduction p. 60).

1761. *This world of man* : i. e. *Silius*' self — cf. ll. 610, 1162 and notes ; « this little world of man » (*King Lear* III. 1. 10).

1771. *Barathrum* : « A deep and obscure gulf at Athens, where criminals were thrown. The word is applied to the infernal regions by *Val. Flacc.* II, 86 and 192 ». (*Lemprière's Classical Dictionary*).

1778 ff. Read

Nar. A whoore's invention !
A drab of state ! A cloth of Silver slut !
The tricks of a tempting Tissue Trull, to push
His hornes upon the Pikes of ruine ; where
He should rot, rot ; were't not to serve our owne endes.

1779. repeats a line from *Tourneur's Revenger's Tragedy* (Dodsley-Hazlitt X. p. 86) cf. Introduction p. 41 :

« The duke's son's great concubine !
A drab of state, a cloth-o'-silver slut ».

« A drab of state » is repeated in *Messallina* l. 2482, and again (« drabs of state ») in Richards' commendatory verses to Middleton's *Women beware Women* (l. 2). Cf. *The Vicious Courtier* (C. P.) 218 f.

« A Cloth of silver Slut, Times Tissue Trull,
Can with close Cleopatra's Kisses Gull ».

Similar phrases occur frequently in the satires : e. g. « Adulterate

cloth of silver Witch » (*Vicious Courtier*, 110) « State Strumpets » (*ibid.* 37).

1783. *maintaine* : for the omission of « to », cf. Franz, *Shaksp. Gram.*, § 493.

that habit of perfection sure : i. e., the habit of Claudius' dependence on them. The sense of ll. 1783-6 is « were it not to maintain that habit — brought to perfection — which until now has worked him like paste to our will ; and must still do so, or we certainly perish ». Pallas (l. 1786) continues Narcissus' speech. Richards is here working from Tacitus, *Ann.* XI. 28, q. v. (quoted Introduction p. 34).

1788. « *which* » serves as object to both *pursue* (l. 1788) and *lose* (l. 1789).

1789. *in that losse lost* : read in that losse [are] lost

*Richards footnote : *Tacit.* [*Ann.* XI. 28]. Read *uxor*[i]

1796. *To traverse and to crosse* : used with consecutive force, « so that they may traverse » etc. (i. e. tack).

1798. Omit the brackets enclosing *as... concerne*s ; *as* is correlative to *such*. Punctuate *concerne*s[.]

1799. *detaîne* = retain — so again *deteînes* l. 1852. N. E. D. quotes *Lithgow, Travels* [1632] V. 195 : « Rivers mentioned in the Scriptures, which to this day *detaîne* their names ».

1800. *Richards' footnote : *Tacit.* [*Ann.* XI. 29].

Read *dissimulantes*[.]

» *Messalina*[m].

1802. Read

Pal. Thereby indeede man rarely rests deceiv'd [;]

Which for to put in speedy practise

And stop the marriage, you and I[,] my Lord[,]

(Under the vaile of friendship) will to *Rome* ;

Perswade the Emp'resse *Cæsar* is himselfe[,]

Perceives that all her plots to his destruction tends [—]

The losse of Empire and th' abuse of his bed,

Disswade[s] her from the love of *Silius*, which

(In the refusall) blood and fire must quench.

1803 (as rearranged) is a catalectic line, l. 1807 an Alexandrine ; cf. *Introd.* p. 61.

1809. *disswaded* : read *Disswade*[s] coördinate with *perceives*, l. 1807.

1819. *Stibium* (Antimony) is mentioned as a poison also in *The Vicious Courtier* l. 124.

1823. Perhaps we should read « a[n]d » for « add »; but the text reading is also possible.

Read scorn[e]d and scan as disyllabic.

1826. Read

What will Valeria Messallina,
The Emp'resse[,] then [?] Thinke you she will be slow,

l. 1826 (as rearranged) must be taken as catalectic, cf. Introd. p. 61, since the accent of Messallina is not shifted in any other case.

1831. Read

Off unwearied : a deed to quake the hearts
Of vertuous Dames [?] Thinke you she will be bar'd,
Diswaded from the love of *Silius* [?] No [!]
We cannot[,] therefore[,]
(Knowing that credit and authority
Is farre more safely for to be maintain'd
With circumspect then with rash counsell)
Cannot[,] I say, be too too wary, l[e]st
By any notice taken
She take least knowledge of our discontent[,]

l. 1837, as rearranged, is catalectic.

1838. *least* : read lest. The form in the texts is here probably due to the neighbourhood of *least* l. 1839; but it occurs in l. 2573 without such an explanation (cf. N. E. D.).

1843. Read

Of the approbrious marriage,
So to secure us from suspect and perill[,]

approbrious = opprobrious; a 16th-17th century form (cf. N. E. D.), which occurs again in l. 2439.

suspect = suspicion; so again in ll. 1856, 2237.

1846. Read

N[a]r. I fully apprehend[,]
That so[,] *Romes Syren* in the height of pride[,]
Silius[,] and all the factious Complices[,]
Through wicked wedlocks jollitie made drunke[,]
Drunke with the dregges of blinde securitie[,]

1847. *That so* = « that [being] so », « [since] that [is] so » — i. e. since extreme caution is necessary, as Callistus has just urged. Ll. 1847-50 are in absolute construction (*Romes Syren*, etc. [*having been*] *made drunke*), summed up by *Then* (l. 1851)

The following lines are rather troublesome. Probably we should take *shall apt* (l. 1853), and *quenche* (l. 1854) as coördinate, with *pollicies* (l. 1851) as subject.

1851. *pyoning* : apparently a unique form. N. E. D. notes the substantive *pyoner* : « a 16th-17th century form of *pioneer*, used, in the 17th century, chiefly in the figurative sense *miner* or *under-miner* ». To regard « *pyoning* » as the pr. participle of a verbal analogue of this form gives excellent sense, but « *pyonering* » would be rather to be expected.

aloft : continuing the metaphor of *pyoning* : N. 's « *pollicies* » are to « mine a passage » — underground until complete, then emerging « aloft ».

1868. Read Rites[.]

1875. Read

Sauf. At the *Bachanalian* feast

Which now drawes nigh, then a rich stirring Maske

Will best expresse itselfe, in greatest glory[.]

The tunes for song, I'll take that charge on me.

Note that ll. 1874-5 (as rearranged) together form an Alexandrine (cf. *Introd.* p. 61).

1880. Transfer *prize* from beginning of l. 1881 to end of l. 1880. The lines allude to Menester's captivation of Messallina (cf. l. 570 ff.). In ll. 1889-1892, Menester continues the allusion to the fact that he then supplanted the earlier favourites, by prophesying his repeated success.

1883. Read

Val. Now does he claw[,] like a decay'd Tradesman,

When to maintaine the wagging of his chappes

Presumably Menester is « scratching his nimble pate » (cf. l. 1888).

1885. *chappes* : 16th-17th century alternative for *chaps*, « jaws » (N. E. D.); cf. « Open your chaps again » (*Tempest* II. 2, 89). « To maintaine the wagging of his chappes » is thus « to keep his jaws moving », « to keep food in his mouth ».

1894. A catalectic line, cf. *Introduction* p. 61.

1895. Read

Sauf. What think you of a wooden Cupid brought

In, in an antick amble, making it wag

Like the apish head of a French Fidler, when he

Firkes with his fingers ?

Val.

[I]t will never take

Unlesse you bring the dapper dancer in,

Scan 1. 1897 (as rearranged) : Like the al|pish head | of a
French | Fidler | when he |

The metre is very often irregular in this scene, sometimes breaking down into prose (v. ll. 1907, 1912). We must suppose that Richards allowed himself extra license because of the tendency to comedy; or that he intended to revise the versification later, but failed to do so (cf. Introduction p. 59).

Note in l. 1901 (1900 as rearranged) the transfer, for the sake of the metre, of « in » to the end of the line.

1897. *in an antick amble* : i. e. in a grotesque step — probably rolling from side to side. Cf. Tourneur, *Revenger's Tragedy* III (Dodsley-Hazlitt X. p. 61) « [t'would] put a reveller Out of his antick amble ».

1902. Valens would here perform a grotesque dance.

1906. *Whose* : read Who[']s

1907. Read ll. 1907-8 as prose.

1910. Read

Raigne in her middle spheare, phy [!] how shee'l play

The divell with Cuckold [S]implicitie[.]

Her husband[.]

Simplicitie is meant as the label-name of the husband.

1912. Read as prose. So perhaps also l. 1913, though this might at a pinch pass muster.

1913. *and that with no little wonder* refers to *play the divell* (l. 1911) : « she'll play the devil with her husband for his want of performance, wondering at it more than a little ». The idea had already found expression in *The Flesh* (v. Introduction p. 9).

1917. Read

Protest, with [«] O no —

I will not wrong my husband for earths treasure [»],

Stand upon her honesty, then smile

Change in a moment, and then wantonize,

Mop, mew, bite lip and wriggle with the bumbe

To put a man in minde; then touch, shee'l gripe,

And clip with a kisse,

Scan 1. 1919 (as rearranged) with missing Auftakt.

Possibly for the last line we should read « And clip [it] with a kisse »; taking the line as a case of Richards' « embedded line »

device, the latter part of the preceding verse doing double duty, concluding its own verse and serving to begin this; giving, in delivery, the effect of the verse as printed in our text :

|| then touch, | shee'l gripe |

And clip | [it] with | a kisse, |

Cf. Introduction p. 59 f.

1920. *mew* : speak affectedly (cf. Nare's *Glossary*); used similarly in *The World*, l. 114 (v. Introd. p. 8).

1925. Read pitch [!]

1926. » forget [:]

1927. » Masque [?]

1928. *hai'd* : read hal'd

1929. Read want [—]

1934. Cf. « Spoke like your selfe » (l. 554).

1936. Transfer *Rare* from beginning of l. 1937 to end of l. 1936.

Ll. 1935-6 form one verse : *Cut throate | of chas|titie. | 'Twill be ex|cellent, rare |*

1937. Cf. *Titus Andronicus* III. 1. 202 f.

« O ! how this villainy

Doth fat me with the very thoughts of it ».

Cf. the proverb « Laugh and grow fat ».

1939. Read

Fiftie at a breakfaste shall not give me content.

Lep. I say, vertue[']s a Cyphar in the hearts

Of great ones, and stands for nothing.

Scan l. 1939 with epical cæsura : —

Fiftie at | a break|fast || shall not | give me | content. |

Scan l. 1941 (as rearranged) as a catalectic line (cf. Introd. p. 61) with missing Auftakt. For missing Auftakt before a preposition, cf. ll. 1713-4.

1946. Ll. 1946-50, 1959-60 are quoted, with slight alterations, from *The Vicious Courtier*, ll. 103-4, 107-12, where they run :

« Insinuate, and so wax knavish wise,

Be a stamp Villen, learne to temporize,

* * * *

Plot, plot, and set friends hourly at debate,

Cling to the surer side, the weaker hate,

Turne Baud at midnight, (Pander to the Itch

Of an Adulterate Cloth of silver Witch.)

Practise to know to mixe with perilous Art
The deadly Poyson with the amorous Dart ».

Lepida addresses each of the four favourites in turn.

1951. *in' ith* : the simplest emendation is i[s] i[']th['] ; but this, with the elision of the i in i[s] necessitated by the metre (While lust | is i'th' act |), is rather awkward to pronounce; and we should probably take the line as an Alexandrine, reading « i[s] i['] the » : while lust | is i' | the act | ye knaves | looke to | the doore. (Cf. Introduction p. 61).

1952. This line and the next form one verse. For the sake of the metre the printer ought to have inserted a sixth *ha*. As the line stand the arsis is missing before the emphatic *Laughs*.

1953. *laughs* : for laugh[']s[t]. Cf. *attempts* (l. 1571) and note.

mawde : so again in l. 2141. For *maud* (apparently a depreciatory use of the name Maud) = a hag, beldam, cf. *More, Confut. Tindale*, Works 685/1 [1532] « So I see well Tindale meaneth by his mother, some olde mother mawde » ; *L. Wager, Marie Magd.* 717 [1566] « When ye are come to be an old maude, Then it will be best for you to play the baude » [N. E. D.].

1963. *Godge godden* : one of many similar forms, corrupted through frequent use from « God give you good even ». N. E. D. does not note this exact form as a whole, but gives *Godge* = God give you (under *God*, § 8) and *godden* = good even (under *Goodeven*). Cf. « Godgigoden, I pray sir can you read ? » *Romeo and Juliet* I. 2, 57 ; « Goddy godden, good father » (*Randolph* [?]) *Hey for Honesty* IV. 3 (1651)).

1970. Richards apparently feels it necessary for Messallina's crimes to be on an imperial scale. The incident of the attempt on the virgins has no foundation in any authority (cf. Introduction p. 43) ; and further, the number of vestal virgins is entirely unhistorical. The original number was four, increased under Tarq. Priscus or Serv. Tullius to six. It is possible that later a seventh was added, the senior then to supply the place of a special Pontifex Maximus as their superior ; but the number certainly never rose higher than seven. For authorities cf. Pauly, *Real-Encyclopädie der Klass. Altertumswissenschaft*.

1971. For disipate ; read disipate

1975. Read meanes[.]

1976. Read

The sweet prevention of so horrid a fact[.]

O heaven, tis granted [—] thanks, Majestie divine [—]
 Worke on my minde [!] Thought happily thought upon [:]
 A spacious vault I have, which neare adjoynes
 Unto the Vestalls Temple;

Scan 1. 1977 with epical cæsura (cf. Introduction p. 61) : O
 heaven | tis granted || thankses Maljestie | divine |

1979-80 afford an excellent example of Richards' « embedded line »
 device (v. Introduction p. 59 f.), *which neare adjoynes* doing double
 duty : A spalacious vault | I have || which neare | adjoynes || Unto |
 the Vestalls Temple. |

prevention : in apposition to *meanes* (l. 1975). For Richards' daring
 use of the abstract, cf. l. 976.

1990. Read

Emp. Are we not *Cæsar*? Is not *Romes* Empire
 Servile unto us? You mad me with your newes.

Nar. Mad a Dog, a Cat, a Rat [—]
 Y[ou] are too tame, want spirit to be mad [!]
 I am mad, mad to the depth of madnesse;
 O I could teare my haire, to see you thus,
 Thus senselesse of your wrongs [!] But doe, doe,
 Be the grand Cuckold of this universe [!]

1993 (as rearranged). Y[ou] are : the emendation, needed for the
 metre, is made certain by the emphasis.

1994 (as rearranged) : note the absence of Auftakt before the very
 emphatic « I » (cf. Abbott, *Sh. Gram.* § 482).

1996 (as rearranged) : note that the fifth foot is filled by the mono-
 syllable « doe » prolonged because strongly emphasized (cf.
 Abbott, *Sh. Gram.* § 481 f.).

1999 and all the speeches down to l. 2007 together form one
 sentence. Substitute [---] for the stop at the end of each speech up
 to and including l. 2006.

2004. *suffers* : Calistus uses « suffers » as an intransitive verb;
 Narcissus catches up the word with its transitive force « (suffers) to
 be workt ».

2008 ff. Read

Nar. That, that!
 O infinite shame in stately Majestie!
 To make your selfe a never-dying scoffe,
 For ages yet unknowne to point at you
 For the most famous Cuckold.

Note the effectiveness of the four successive lines (2011-4) on « Cuckold ».

2012 f. Cf. « Thou'rt a renowned, high and mighty cuckold » Tourneur, *Revenger's Tragedy*, III (Dodsley-Hazlitt, X, p. 64).

2014 ff. Read

Nar. Cuckold by five and twentie,
All in the short space of a day and a night [—]
O insatiate bawdy villany [!]

Emp. Damnation seize her [—] I will heare no more [!]
Misery of miseries [!]

Scan l. 2016 (as rearranged) : O | insa|tiate baw|dy vil|lany | —
with the Auftakt omitted before the emphatic exclamation « O » ;
cf. note on l. 1994.

2026. Read (for punctuation)

My panting soule[.] Misery of mariage [!]
Horn'd, and abus'd by every vassaile Groome [—]
Vessels of basenesse, they shall buy it deare [—]
The high Sea of their daring pride must downe[.]

Note the half-punning jingle on *vassaile* and *vessels* (cf. Introd. p. 63 (5)).

2026 : Best regarded as a case of the thesis missing after the pause (cf. Introd. p. 60).

2033. Read

Amazement through the world [:] those bewitching lampes her eyes,
Fed with the oyle of whorish fortitude,
That [(l)ike the Centaure's blood)

Scan l. 2033 as an Alexandrine (cf. Introd. p. 61) : Amaze|ment
through | the world : | those bewit|ching lampes | her eyes |

Those bewitching lampes... braine (ll. 2033-7) is to be regarded as subject to *shall... intice* (l. 2038) ; *those false false eyes* (l. 2037) stands in apposition to, and summarizes the preceding phrases. Ll. 2033-7 continue the thought of ll. 2032-3, though without grammatical connection.

2035. *that* [(l)ike : the antecedent of *that* is *whorish fortitude*.

2040. Read

Their glory for [the] grave, [and] there[,] forgot,

2055. *sit* : read [c]it[e] and transfer comma from end of l. 2054 to end of l. 2053. I think this better than the alternative — to transpose ll. 2054 and 2055, and in the latter read « the[re] » for « their » ;

Cæsar shall sit in senate, and the[re] doome
The daring pride of all the faction.

2056. Read

Emp. Sweetest revenge [!] Honour'd *Narcissus*

Draw out the souldiers at thy free dispose[.]

Verse 2056 is best regarded as catalectic, but cf. note (2) on l. 1725.

2058. The point of reference of Richards' footnote is not indicated in the text. It is best placed here.

*Richards' footnote : *Tacit.* [*Ann.* XI. 33 *ad init.*].

For *nihilominis* read *nihilo min[u]*s

» *Geta* read *Geta[e]*

» *fidebat* Tacitus has *fidebant* ; Richards' reading probably makes the change deliberately, to correspond to the Emperor's declaration « Geta we doe mistrust » (l. 2058).

2063. Read unrests[.]

2065. Read

'Tis mans delight in woman, insatiate woman,
That will doe with the divell[.]

O 'tis a fearefull thing to be a Cuckold,

Scan l. 2065 with epical cæsura (cf. *Introd.* p. 61) : Tis
mans | delight | in woman, || insa|tiate wo|man.

In ll. 2065-6 we have another case of the « embedded verse » device (cf. *Introd.* p. 59 f.). Here « insatiate woman » does double duty, giving with l. 2066 a complete verse : Insa|tiate wo|man,
That | will doe | with the div|ell.

2066. *doe* : i. e. have sexual intercourse (cf. l. 652 and note) ; woman is so insatiate in lust that she will « do » with the devil himself. There may be a reference to the very widely spread belief in intercourse between women and demons, but more probably the phrase is merely rhetorical.

2068. *foole* : used as an adjective ; cf. l. 2484.

Read patience !

2074 f. The text reading may be correct : the antecedent to *that* (l. 2074) is *'em* (l. 2072) ; *boyling* qualifies *passion* ; *flames* (l. 2074) is a transitive verb as in l. 2147 (plural, cf. note on l. 161) ; *tortures* (l. 2075) is a noun. The construction is thus « that thus... flame my brain with passion : tortures no less », etc.

The simple emendation *passion[s]* for *passion* gives, however, a much clearer reading : —

That thus[,] with raging passion['s] boyling flames,
My most distracted braine tortures no lesse

flames being taken as a substantive, and *tortures* as a verb plural.

2078 ff. Read

Such is the misery of marriage [:]
Where the besotted husband most affects,
There to be most abus'd. Cuckold [—] Cuckold [—]
Cuckold [!] O [—]

In l. 2078 scan marriage as trisyllabic, cf. Abbott, *Sh. Gram.*, § 479.

2080. (as rearranged) : for other cases of a trochee as fifth foot,

v. Introd. p. 61.

2082. Read t[o] appease

2085. Emp'resse : read *Empresse*[']; for the suppression of the genitive ending after *-ess*, cf. Franz, *Shaksp. Gram.*, § 46.

Read mischievous[.]

2086. *Richards' footnote : *Tacit. [Ann. XI. 28]*.

Read *multa*[s]... *Messallina*[e]

As at l. 1655 (v. note ad loc.), Richards misapplies the quotation. The many deaths brought about by Messallina are named by Tacitus as one of the causes making the Emperor's favourites fear to take action against her. The special incident of the murder of the three dames because of their chastity is, as said above, unsupported by the authorities.

2087. Fifth foot trochaic, cf. note on l. 2080.

2089-90 together form one verse : scan *entrance* as trisyllabic *ent[e]rance*, cf. Abbott, *Sh. Gram.*, § 477.

2098. Cf. « And Richard falls in the height of all his pride » (*Richard III*, V. 3. 178).

2113. Read

To be put in [and] there buried alive [:]

2115. Read For unchaste vestalls[.] By

Scan with missing arsis after the pause (cf. Introd. p. 60), and with feminine ending : For un|chaste ves|talls. || By thee | chaste ves|talls

2127. Read earth[.] Let[']s

2129. Read earth[.] in ardent love

Cf. « Salute thy mother earth » (l. 1270).

2132. Apparently a stock way of indicating pursuit ; cf. « [*A noise within.*] Follow, follow, follow ! » (*Merry Devil of Edmonton*, Dodsley-Hazlitt X, p. 249).

2141. *Mawdes* : cf. note on l. 1953.

2151. Read *murder[er]s*

2158. Cf. ll. 2158-60 with Tourneur, *Revenger's Tragedy* (Dodsley-Hazlitt X, p. 69) :

« *Amb.* ...O furies !

Sup. Plagues !

Amb. Confusions !

Sup. Darkness !

Amb. Devils ! »

2168. Read

A brood of *Centaurs*[,] to supply and worke

2170. Cf. « Enter the Ghoast of Andrea, and with him Revenge » *The Spanish Tragedie* I. 1 (Induction); « Enter Ghoast and Reuenge » *ibid.* III. 15, IV. 5 ; « probably suggested by the opening scene of Seneca's *Thyestes*, where the Ghost of Tantalus appears in the company of a Fury » — note ad loc., *Works of Thomas Kyd*, ed. F. S. Boas, Oxford, 1901.

2172. Scan with thesis missing after the pause (cf. *Intro.* p. 60), and feminine ending : Why sil|ly dames, || I | confesse | your murders |

2173. Read

But [—] to repent the fact[?] Know that my heart

Is like the Corsick Rock, more hard ;

Farre more unpassable then *Chymera* mount [!]

What[']s that in white there [?] What so e'[er] it be[,]

The Majesty it beares trembles my sinews [:]

O how it shakes me [!] Came Furies clad in flames,

Not all hells tortures, th[e] affrights [and] horrors

Equalls the thousand[th] part the paines I feele

Through sight of that, that flaming Christall[.]

Sinke me[,] O earth [!]

Pindus and *Ossa* cover me with Snow [!]

Hide me, *Cimerian* darknesse [!] Let me not see it [!]

My Eyesight failes.

Numbering the lines as thus arranged, scan l. 2178 with epical cæsure. L. 2181 is catalectic. It is possible to take the line as printed, reading « Sinke » with it ; but our arrangement gives a much better reading for the following broken verse — a complete interjectional line (cf. Abbott, *Sh. Gram.*, § 512), and catalectic verses are common in our play (cf. *Introduction* p. 61). Scan l. 2184 with epical cæsure.

2174. Cf. *The Spanish Tragedie* III. 13, 70 ff.

« O worthy sir, my cause, but slightly knowne,
May moue the harts of warlike Myrmidons,
And melt the Corsicke rockes with ruthfull teares ».

Professor Boas annotates the passage « Cf. Seneca's *Octavia*, 382 :
Remotus inter Corsici rupes maris ».

2175. *Chymera mount* : = Chimæra, « ...a burning mountain in Lycia, whose top was the resort of lions, on account of its desolate wilderness ; the middle, which was fruitful, was covered with goats ; and at the bottom the marshy ground abounded with serpents » — whence the fable of the monster Chimæra, part lion, part goat, part dragon (*Lemprière*).

2182. Cf. note on l. 1316.

2185. Read fal[]endum. Cf. notes ad fin.

2186. Read ll. 2186, 2188 as one verse, scanning it with epical cæsura and feminine ending.

2200. Read Sulpit[i]us

2207. *Messallina and Silius... in an Arch-glittering Cloud aloft* : The « Cloud » would be a box-like contrivance suspended by ropes, so that it could be lowered (cf. ll. 2223-4). For other examples of the use of such a contrivance v. Wegener, *Die Bühneneinrichtung des Shakespearschen Theaters*, p. 133 ff. The cases there cited are from plays of the 16th century and the first two decades of the 17th. Dr Wegener remarks « Vereinzelt wird diese Maschinerie auch noch in späteren Stücken gebraucht, wie in der Tragödie the Rebellion von Thomas Rawlins ». *Messallina* adds an example of about the same date as *The Rebellion* (1637/9). Cf. also Albright, *Shaksperian Stage*, p. 72 f.

2210 ff. In the passage in stichomythia between Silius and the Empress, Richards clearly attempts to secure a special effect, lyrical in tendency. Two rhymed couplets, and two more with rich rhyme, occur ; and the rhythm of ll. 2210-2215 is abnormal. For a discussion of the use of stichomythia in the Elizabethan drama, under the influence of Seneca, v. Cunliffe *op. cit.* ; and G. Kramer, *Über Stichomythie und Gleichklang in den Dramen Shakespeares*, Kiel (Dissertation) 1890. In the following notes on scansion (2210-5) cf. throughout Introduction p. 60 f.

2210. Scan *perfection* as tetrasyllabic ; the verse has a feminine ending.

2211. Scan with epical cæsura ; *admiration* pentasyllabic.

2212. Scan *Silius* as disyllabic, *perfection* as tetrasyllabic.

2213. Scan with thesis missing after the pause, before the emphatic *beauties*, and with feminine ending ; so also l. 2215 with thesis missing after second pause (before emphatic *kisse*) and l. 2216 (with thesis twice missing after pause, before emphatic *hug*).

2214. Scan with missing Auftakt and feminine ending.

2216. Read Soule[,] to my lips [!]

2223. Cf. *Richard II*, III. 3. 178 f. :

« Down, down I come ; like glist'ring Phaethon,
Wanting the manage of unruly jades ».

2224. Cf. also « Like glistring *Phaeton* in an Orient chaire » (l. 939).

2230. *Narcissus enters aloft* : Here *aloft* most probably indicates the second upper stage, formed by the two small boxes above the gallery (v. note on Ornamental Titlepage). *Narcissus* is supposed to be on « the high top, the temple of god Mars » (l. 2091), not on a wall of the palace. The palace scene continues, in silent by-play, during his speech. Two places, distant the one from the other, have thus to be represented at the same time. The use of the gallery is therefore improbable, for in all cases when the gallery and the main stage are used at the same time, they are regarded as adjacent, the action in the gallery being connected with that on the main stage. (For examples, cf. Brodmeier, *Die Shakespeare Bühne nach den alten Bühnenanweisungen* p. 11 ff.; Wegener, *Die Bühneneinrichtung des Shakespearschen Theaters* pp. 99 ff. ; Albright, *Shaksperian Stage*, p. 63 f.).

A close parallel to this scene is *I Henry VI*, III. 2. Joan is to give the signal for the entry of the French into Rouen « By thrusting out a torch from yonder tower » (l. 23). Then, while the main stage is still occupied (by the French forces *outside* the city) « Enter Joan la Pucelle on a battlement, holding out a torch burning ». She speaks three lines (26-8) then exit, and the dialogue on the main stage continues. Professor Brandl has shown (*Shakespeares Dram. Werke übersetzt von v. Schlegel und Tieck*, I Bd. p. 32), that the « battlement » here was given, in the open theatre, by the small platform high above the regular upper-stage, used by the trumpeter who gave the signal of the commencement of the performance. In the covered theatre, the boxes above the gallery would replace this platform. (Albright's three cases of the use of these boxes to represent an upper window (*Sh. Stage*, p. 66) do not clash with this conclusion).

Richards may have borrowed from the scene just cited the hint for the signal by the burning torch.

2233. Cf. « The silver Spangles of thy Glorious Skie » (*The Spiritual Seafight* (C. P.) l. 4).

2246-8. Cf. ll. 2092-4.

2251. Cf. « When the bad bleeds, then is the tragedy good » Tourneur, *Revenger's Tragedy*, III (Dodsley-Hazlitt X. p. 65) ;

« No power is angry when the lustful die ;

When thunder claps, heaven likes the tragedy » (*ibid.* p. 101).

2255. For eyes, read eyes

2256. For dalliance, each read dalliance[. E]ach

2258. For live. read l[o]ve [!]

2267. For to read to[o]

2268. *affiance* : = confidence — the original sense, cf. examples in N. E. D.

2269. *Cornucopia skull* : the humorous application of « Cornucopia » to the « horn » of cuckoldry was not original to Richards. N. E. D. cites J. Lane, *Tom Tel-truth* [1608] 675 : —

« With cornucopia, Cornewall and the horne

Which their bad wiues bid from their bed be send ».

2271. Read to[o] huge

2283. *guirt* : read guir[d] = « gird ».

2287. The stage direction *Exeunt Senate and Curtezans* should probably come two lines later, following *amaz'd*.

2289. Read

Sil. What [!] To out live my Fate [?] No [!] You of

The Senate fly, fly all, stand not amaz'd [!]

My mighty Mistris, endanger not your selfe [—]

In l. 2289 *No* is very emphatic, and so occupies a full foot ; cf. l. 1996 (as rearranged) and note.

Scan ll. 2291 and 2292 with epical cæsura, cf. Introd., p. 61.

Both texts begin l. 2291 with a small letter — « mighty », cf. l. 2569.

2296 ff. Read

Of deepe amaze [?]

Collect your spirits and pursue your safetie.

Val. What[,] fly? And leave you here [?] First with this hand

2300. By the grammatical construction we should read « minde » for « mindes », since *Brutus* alone is governed by *of*. The sense however includes *Cassius* also, so that the reading may stand.

2307. Read life?

Cassius : genitive (= *Cassius*[']) like *Tytinnius*. Cf. l. 2085 and note.

The allusion would be familiar, through *Julius Caesar* V. 3 (*Cassius* and *Titinius*) and V. 5 (*Brutus*).

2310. Read

Not like those desperate fooles, which by their owne

Swords fall ; we are too deepe in lust to sucke

Such b[l]acke damnation, that were horrid.

The scansion of l. 2312 presents difficulties. The sentence-stress is best satisfied by taking the line as a case of Richards' peculiar enjambement device (cf. Introduction p. 59 f.); *to sucke* would then do double duty, and we should have an excellent verse with feminine ending : *to sucke | such black | damna|tion, that | were hor|rid*.

Other possible scansions are (1) to take *damnation* as trisyllabic, and admit a trochee in the fifth foot (cf. Introd. p. 61); (2) taking *damnation* as trisyllabic, to regard the verse as catalectic (cf. Introd. p. 61).

2310. Cf. *Macbeth* V. 7. 30 f. :

« Why should I play the Roman fool, and die

On mine own sword ? »

2311. The logical reading would be « f[e]ll », not « fall », for *Silius* is continuing the reference to *Brutus*, *Cassius* and *Tytinnius*. It is possible, however, to take « those desperate fooles » in a general sense, so the text-reading may be kept.

2312. Cf. « Nor sucke damnation from a strumpet's lips » (*The Celestiall Publican*, l. 486).

2314. Read death[,] in death.

2315. Read (transposing *misselead* and *in*)

True sorrow for lifes death [in misselead] life,

2317. Read so[;]

Read selfe[-]violent death (i. e. death by self-violence, suicide ; cf.

l. 2310 f.).

2318. Read v[a]lour.

2321 ff. Read

Now, you luxurious traytor, Emperour *Silius*[,]

Your highnesse gates at length are forc'd to bow[.]

Wher's your top[-]gallant strumpet [? —] That strumpet

Witch, hell-Cat ; most insatiate whore

2322 is mere bombast; contrast l. 2281 ff., where Richards follows his authority (*Tacit. Ann. XI. 32*), even at the expense of dramatic effect, in the utter surprise and instant unresisting surrender of Silius, Messallina and their party.

Scan l. 2323 with missing arsis after the pause, and feminine ending; scan l. 2324 with the Auftakt missing before the emphatic *Witch*, and the thesis missing after the pause before the emphatic *most* (cf. Introduction, p. 60 f.).

2323. *top gallant*: highest, loftiest (cf. top-gallant-mast, the mast above the top-mast). Probably with the double sense of « loftiest in rank » and « chief (as a strumpet) »; we might paraphrase « Queen of strumpets ».

2325. *cleav'd*: read cleav[e]d and scan as disyllabic.

2330. Read

Spit all thy venome; be it a Sea of poyson[,]
Let it fall, here's none will shrink; our bloods
Are all too much enobled,
Into the eminent temper of true Monarches.

2330. Cf. « Thou stormest venomously; wilt thou spit all thyself? » *Pericles* III. 1. 8.

2331. Note the failure of the Auftakt before the emphatic *Let* (cf. Introd. p. 61).

Scan l. 2333 (as rearranged) with feminine ending: Into | the e|minent tem|per of | true Monarches.

2332 ff. According to Tacitus (*Ann. XI. 35-6*, quoted Introd. p. 35 f.), Proculus offered to reveal other accomplices (cap. 35) and Menester pleaded for pardon on the ground that he had yielded to the Empress under compulsion (cap. 36). Richards permits no such unworthy conduct in his stage Romans! (Cf. Introduction p. 54 f.)

2354. The couplet l. 2354-5 is quoted from *Mercies Miracle* (P. S. S.) l. 21 f. *Messallina* appeared before the *Poems Sacred and Satyricall*, and the passage is quite in keeping with the play. Still, as a number of moral couplets in the play are borrowed from the non-dramatic poems (v. Introd. p. 42) this is probably the case here too; and we may suppose — what is in every respect very probable — that this poem was written before 1640. The composition of the new poems in the 1641 volume was probably spread over the eleven years between its publication and that of the 1630 volume (cf. Introduction, p. 17 ff. *passim*).

2359. Cf. «voluptatesabeuntes consideremus» *Valerius Max.* VII. 2.

2360. ll. 2360-3 are quoted from *Mans Miserie* (P. S. S.) ll. 35-8; cf. note on l. 2354. Richards may well have taken the hint from Jaques' speech beginning « All the world's a stage » (*As You Like It* II 7), or from *The Merchant of Venice* I. 1. 77-9.

2368. Read

Am I thus forc'd [?] I must, I will not die
So like a beast[.]

The lofty Cedar and the aged Oake,

In ll. 2368-9 we have another example of Richards' enjambement device (v. Introd. p. 59 f.). Here « I must, I will not die » does double duty :

Am I | thus forc'd ? || I must, | I will | not die
So like | a beast.

2370. Cf. « Cuft on the mountaine top of some bigge wave » (l. 1036); « My blood, like to a troubled ocean, Cuff'd with the winds » (Marston, *Insatiate Countess* II. 3. 42).

2372. Read minde [?]

2378. Read

I must awa[it] their waking [?] I' me abus'd [!]
Where art thou, thou invisible theeve [?] Lean rogue[.]
I dare thee to this combate [!] Why[,] slave [—]
Dog [—] coward [—] dastard Death [! —] No[,] no [—] why then
O kind[,] best[,] loving death ; if valiant,
If thou be that sole conquerour of Kings
Time speakes thee for[,] prethee, but for one bout [!]
I'le not resist, scarce able to stand[,]
Open breasted [—] take all advantage.
Disjoynt the chaine of inauspicious stars
Fettering my over[-]wearied flesh with life [!]
One thrust put home will end me.

Emp. Sinke him[,] *Evodius.*

Sil. Thrust home and sure [!]

Why, so [—]
Desire now followes my bloud[,] Farewell[,] world[,]
Picture of painted folly, frame of woe [!]
Paltry life, I gladly shake thee off.

In following metrical notes (2380-2395) number as arranged above, and cf. throughout Introd. p. 60 f.

1. 2380 : Scan with arsis missing after the pause, before the emphatic *Why* : I dare | thee to | this com|bate ! || Why, slave

2385. Scan with thesis missing after the pause, before the emphatic *scarce*.

2386. Scan as a catalectic line.

2392. An interjectional line, cf. Abbott, *Sh. Gram.* § 512.

2395. Note the failure of the Auftakt before the emphatic *Paltry*.

No stage direction for Evodius is given. It should follow « Thrust home and sure » (l. 2391).

2399. Read husband [!]

2400. The text-reading is possible ; but I suspect that *husband* (l. 2400) is a padding-insertion by the printer, influenced by l. 2399 (cf. l. 402), and that we should read :

Was not this wrought by the Circean charmes

Of thy she divell ? She, she hath bin

Scan the latter line with arsis missing after the pause, before the very emphatic *she*.

2404. Read world [!]

2405. Read death[.]

2409. Read

The good good Gods[,] to pardon thee[,] my love.

2410. Cf. *Celestiall Publican*, l. 178 f. : the soul « like a spent Taper burnes Onely for a flash, ready to go out ».

2414. Read weepe not[,] sweet [!]

2419 ff. Read

Taxe me[,] to saye [:] it never, never can [—]

Not out of all the Catalogue of women [—]

Pick such a *Phanix* Saint forth[,] as thy selfe.

2434. wilt : read wil[l]

2439. *approbrious* : v. note on l. 1843.

2440. Read

More blood unto this banquet[,] welcome [!] What[,]

Virgillianus [?]

So grave a Senator so trech[e]rous [?]

Serv'd you as Bawdes to sooth the mindes of Letchers [?]

Calphurnianus and *Sulpitius* too [?]

Off with their heads [!] Away with them [—] be suddaine [!]

The tunne of vengeance now begins to stoope[,]

Broacht with the blood of these vain inconsiderate fooles.

Scan the last line as an Alexandrine, cf. *Introd.* p. 61.

2442. *Bawdes* : a more pointed reading would be « Bawde », addressed to *Virgillianus* alone ; but the application to all three, as in the text-reading, is quite possible.

2445. A coarse but comprehensible metaphor. The « tun » was filled with the blood of traitors, then broached ; and now, after the effusion of this blood, is lowered or tilted because it is almost empty. (*Stoope*, « to incline or tilt a barrel », *Halliwell* ; so also *Dialect. Dict.*).

2449. Read *lives*[.] Time was[.]

2450. *corpes* : « corps » was the regular form for the plural as well as the singular, down to 1750 ; though « corpses » is occasionally used from the 16th century onwards [N. E. D.].

2454. Read *Lucullu*[s']

2455. Scan with epical cæsure ; cf. *Introduction* p. 61.

2466. For « Pleased ; to » read *Pleas'd to*

2469. Transfer « an » from end of l. 2469 to beginning of l. 2470.

2473. Read

Narcissus, ['] gainst tomorrow let her have warning
To appeare in Senate.

Scan the former line with epical cæsure and feminine ending :
Narcis|sus 'gainst | tomorrow || let her | have war|ning

The second half of the line does double duty, through Richards' enjambement device, serving also to begin the following verse :

|| let her | have warn|ing

To | appear | in Se|nate.

2476. *I* : = aye, as in l. 339, 355. Scan with epical cæsure.

2479. *Richards' footnote : *Tacit.* [*Ann.* XI. 37].

For *in cædem* read [*ni*] *cædem*

» *Narcissu* read *Narcissu*[s]

» *properavisset* ; read *properavisset*[.]

2480. *é're* : read *e*[ver]

2481 ff. Read ll. 2482-3 as in apposition to *Test* (l. 2481), reading[.] for[.] at the end of l. 2483. *Raise* (l. 2485) is infinitive, dependent on *trust* (l. 2484) ; for omission of *to*, cf. l. 69 and note.

A second possible reading, which, however, I think inferior, is to complete the first sentence at the end of l. 2481, reading *Test*[.] ll. 2482-3 are then object of *trust* (l. 2484).

2482. *drab of state* : cf. l. 1779 and note.

2483. The text-reading is possible, the Auftakt failing before the emphatic *Tript*. But probably we should read *i*['] *th*[e]

2484. *foole* : used as an adjective, cf. l. 2068.

2486. *president* : = precedent

2488. Scan ll. 2488, 2490 as catalectic, cf. Introduction p. 61.

2494. Again we have the enjambement device, cf. Introduction p. 50, f :

|| I mad|ly live |

Tortur'd | in mind | and blood.

2497. Read

Repent [?] Re [-] divell [! —]

Messallina echoes Lepida's *repent* (l. 2496) and begins the second word as though to repeat *repent* ; then she ends with an impatient ejaculation, mocking the advice — « Re-divell ! ». Scan as an interjectional line, cf. Abbott *Sh. Gram.* § 512.

2498. Scan as catalectic.

2499. Read to[o]

2505. Read hearing[,] that [i]s all

Transfer *which* from end of l. 2505 to beginning of l. 2506.

2507. Read light[']ning[']s

2509. Best scanned as a catalectic line : Nay then | I am sure | of re|concile|ment — though it is also possible to scan re|conci|llement, pronouncing the normally mute *e*, cf. Abbott, *Sh. Gram.* § 487.

2510. *fence* : the first letter is indistinct in both texts, but the reading is certain.

2515. Read

Shall — ha [! —]

What horrid sound is this [?] What dreadfull sight

Thus quakes me ?

Lep. O 'tis a g[u]ilty conscience.

Scan l. 2515 (as rearranged) as an interjectional line, cf. Abbott, *Sh. Gram.* § 512.

2517-8 (on rearranged) together form one verse ; scan with epical cæsura after *quakes*, and *conscience* trisyllabic.

2521. Cf. the song of the Furies, l. 835 ff. For metre v. Introduction p. 62.

2547. Probably we should supply [me !] at the end of the line : and swallow [me !]

2549. Read agen [!]

2550. Scan as catalectic.

2552. V. notes *ad fin.*

2562. *Headsman with Scaffold* : Richards' stage improvement on the simple sword (cf. *Tacit. Ann. XI. 38*).

2564. Scan *hither* as a monosyllable, cf. Abbott, *Sh. Gram.* § 466. Note that the verse as printed ends with a trochee. This is not without parallel (v. *Introd.* p. 61), but probably we should read « th[e] » and scan with a feminine ending.

2567. Read

A Headsman and a scaffold [!] Are these for me [?]

Scan with epical cæsure.

2569. Both texts begin the line with a small *b* instead of a capital, cf. l. 2291.

2570. Read die [!]

2571. For « haste » read « hast ». In l. 2281 the converse misprint occurs — « hast » for « hast[e] ».

2572 ff. Read

And aske the Gods forgiveness,

Think it a world of favour[,] and be suddaine,

Lest unprepar'd we force you to the blocke.

The form *least* for *lest* occurs also in l. 1838.

2575. *Richards' footnote : *Tacit. [Ann. XI. 37]*.

2577. Read

Let thy faults[,] ripe in Act, be blowne to Ayre

2582 exactly repeats l. 685.

2583. Read unspeakable [?]

2585. For death read death [;]

2586. For whether read wh[i]ther

Scan as catalectic. Cf. « Ay, but to die, and go we know not where » *Measure for Measure* III. 1, 115; *Hamlet*, III. 1, 79-81.

2587. Read deaths [!]

2590. *Richards' footnote : *Tacit. [Ann. XI 38]*. For *introspectit*, *frustra* read *introspectit* [*ferrumque accepit quod*] *frustra*; for *ac* read *aut*. Richards' reading *transfigitur* (for the better *transigitur*) is that of many old texts of the *Annals*, and gives the same sense.

2597. Read to[o] precious [!] We

2599. No stage directions are given : we may understand [*Stabs herself*] after « thus and thus » (l. 2599) and [*Evodius runs her through*] after « Helpe to dispatch me » (l. 2602).

2601. Probably read

To put it home[.]

If thou be valiant and a souldier

The alternative arrangement —

To put it home[.] If thou be valiant

And a souldier

— yields an excellent first verse ; but the second is, by its sense, much less probable as a broken verse than the broken verse given by the former arrangement. In either case, *If thou be valiant* does double duty, by Richards' enjambement device (v. Introduction p. 59 f.) :

To put | it home. ||

If thou | be va|liant || and a soul|dier

Scan *souldier* as trisyllabic (cf. Abbott, *Sh. Gram.* § 479) : *valiant* and *souldier* are both emphatic, hence given their full syllabic value.

2603. Best scanned as a catalectic verse, *whither* being taken as monosyllabic (cf. Abbott *Sh. Gram.* § 466) ; though as *whither* here bears considerable emphasis, it is also possible that we should take it as disyllabic, scanning the last three feet as trochaic.

2605. Note the trochaic fifth foot ; though it is also possible to scan the line with missing thesis after the pause, before the very emphatic (first) *deare* thus gaining an iambic fifth foot, with feminine ending, cf. ll. 2213, 2215, 2216.

2620. Read more [;]

2621. » doe[.]

The Epilogue.

The page is headed by an ornamental line, composed of a crown over a rose, a crown over a thistle, and then alternately a crown over a harp and a crown over a rose.

2629. Read *done now*[.] *What*

2634. Read *concord*[.]

The Musicke Rome of concord : a pun on « Rome » (as the scene of the play) and « room », as in Shakespeare ; cf. Wurth, *Das Wortspiel bei Shakespeare*, Wien u. Leipzig 1895, p. 117 ; e. g. « Now is it Rome indeed and room enough » (*Rome* pronounced « ru:m »).

2635. Read *then*

Latin lines in the text of Messallina, not identified.

Only one of the Latin lines in the text is an actual quotation (l. 1241, v. note), and only for two other lines (ll. 1068, 2359, v. notes) can I suggest any original. It will be noticed that in

the last two cases, Richards does not quote, but freely adapts; and this suggests his probable procedure in the remaining cases: he probably picked up, or vaguely recalled, some Latin phrase, which he then altered to suit his needs.

The lines which I cannot identify occur as follows:

239. Sola virtus vera nobilitas.

294. Si non l[æ]taris vivens lætabare n[u]nquam.

2185. Ingeniosi sumus ad fal[l]endum nosmet ipsos.

2552-3. Quid faciam? ubi fugiam, hic et illic,

Ubinam nescio, O dira Fata.

ADDENDA.

Introd. p. 41 : to lines suggested by Shakespeare, add l. 2223 f.

p. 42 : to note on Marston's influence, add « Richards was influenced also by Marston's *Insatiate Countess* ; cf. especially Messallina's character with Isabella's, the seduction of Silius with *I. C.* III. 4, and *Mess.* 1326 with *I. C.* IV. 2.

ERRATA.

Introd. p. 3, last line : for Care read Cure

10, l. 5 : delete []

12, l. 17 : for Crymes, read Crymes...

15 : note that the titles are not quoted in full.

19, note 2 : for I. 49 read II. 49

24, l. 24 : for thought read thoug[h]t

25, l. 4 : for on his read on's

26, l. 19 f. : for they erected read they were erected
(Richards' text has capital W dropped below the line).

Note 3 : for are read were

28, l. 20 : read B is blank.

33, l. 14 : for fallend read fallendi

39, l. 26 : for II 129, V 441 read ll. 835, 2522, (so also on
p. 62, notes 3, 4).

42, l. 30 : for V. 89 read l. 2086.

43, note 4 : for I. 267 etc. read ll. 539, 814, 962 ff.

48, note 3 : for IV. 68 read IV. 268.

53, l. 29 : for IV. 192 read l. 1863.

54, note 2 : for II. 364 read l. 1102.

59, note 4 : for fonnd read found

60, § b. 2 : delete II. 287, V. 519.

61, l. 17 : for IV. 19 read IV. 79.

§ 5 : delete V. 286.

§ 6 : for V. 215 read V. 275 ; delete V. *148.

63, § 5 : for IV. 160, 178, V. 78 read ll. 1825 f., 1842 f., 2073 f.

Text, l. 2489 : for Euter read Enter

2520 : for sito read sits

2534 : for theia read their

Materialien zur Kunde
des
älteren Englischen Dramas

Materialien zur Kunde des älteren Englischen Dramas

UNTER MITWIRKUNG DER HERREN

F. S. Boas-LONDON, A. Brandl-BERLIN, R. Brotanek-PRAG, F. I. Carpenter-CHICAGO, Ch. Crawford-LONDON, G. B. Churchill-AMHERST, W. Creizenach-KRAKAU, E. Eckhardt-FREIBURG I. B., A. Feuillerat-RENNES, R. Fischer-INNSBRUCK, W. W. Greg-LONDON, F. Holthausen-KIEL, J. Hoops-HEIDELBERG, W. Keller-MÜNSTER, R. B. Mc Kerrow-LONDON, G. L. Kittredge-CAMBRIDGE, MASS., E. Koeppl-STRASSBURG, J. Le Gay Brereton-SIDNEY, H. Logeman-GENT, J. M. Manly-CHICAGO, G. Sarrazin-BRESLAU, † L. Proescholdt-FRIEDRICHSDORF, A. Schröer-CÖLN, G. C. Moore Smith-SHEFFIELD, G. Gregory Smith-BELFAST, A. E. H. Swaen-GRONINGEN, A. H. Thorndike-NEW-YORK, † A. Wagner-HALLE A. S.

BEGRUENDET UND HERAUSGEGEBEN

VON

W. BANG

o. ö. Professor der Englischen Philologie an der Universität Louvain

EINUNDDREISSIGSTER BAND

LOUVAIN
A. UYSTPRUYST

LEIPZIG
O. HARRASSOWITZ

LONDON
DAVID NUTT

1911

DANIEL'S
THE TRAGEDIE OF CLEOPATRA

nach dem Drucke von 1611

HERAUSGEGEBEN

VON

M. LEDERER



	LOUVAIN	
	A. UYSTPRUYST	
LEIPZIG		LONDON
O. HARRASSOWITZ		DAVID NUTT
	1911	

Dr ROMAN DYBOSKI

IN FREUNDSCHAFT

ZUGEEIGNET.

VORWORT.

Eine Tragödie, welche in sieben verschiedenen, zum Teil von einander bedeutend abweichenden Drucken aufgelegt werden konnte, mit allen Varianten neu herauszugeben, bedarf wohl keiner weiteren Rechtfertigung.

Darum sei hier dem Herausgeber bloss verstattet, jenen Männern, welche ihn in seiner Arbeit gefördert, ja sie überhaupt ermöglicht haben, seinen wärmsten Dank auszusprechen, nämlich Dr James Morison, Oxford, dem gelehrten und treuen Freunde der Wiener Neuphilologen, für manchen wertvollen Hinweis und Rat zur Zeit der Abfassung, Herrn Prof. W. Bang, Louvain, für die mannigfache freundliche Unterstützung, die er der Arbeit während der Drucklegung angedeihen liess, sowie insbesondere Mr Sidgwick, London, für seine überaus wertvollen, mit soviel Mühe verbundenen Dienste bei der Kollationierung der Korrekturen mit den Originaltexten.

Bielitz, im Dezember 1910.

Dr MAX LEDERER.

EINLEITUNG.

§ 1. *Ausgaben.* 1) Die älteste Ausgabe von Daniel's «Cleopatra» (im Brit. Mus.) trägt die Jahreszahl 1594. Das 16^o Bändchen enthält : Delia and Rosamond, augmented. Cleopatra. By Samuel Daniel. Auf dem Titelblatt liest man das Motto : Aetas prima canat veneres, postrema tumultus. 1594. Printed at London for Simon Waterson and are to be sold in Paules Churchyarde at the Signe of the Crowne. Ein Portraitzkupfer ist beigelegt ; Paginierung fehlt. 2) die Ausgabe von 1599, 4^o : The Poeticall Essayes of Samuel Danyel. Newly corrected and augmented. Motto wie oben. At London, Printed by P. Short for Simon Waterson *. 3) und 4) 1601 und 1602, 8^o : The Works of Samuel Daniel. Newly Augmented. Motto vgl. oben. London, Printed for Simon Waterson. 5) 1605, 8^o : Certaine small Poems lately printed. With the Tragedie of Philotas. Written by Samuel Daniel. Carmen amat quisquis carmine digna gerit. At London, Printed by G. Eld for Simon Waterson. 6) 1607, 12^o : Certaine Small Workes Heretofore Divulged by Samuel Daniel, one of the Groomes of the Queenes Maiesties priuie Chamber & now againe by him corrected and augmented. Aetas prima canat veneres, postrema tumultus. At London, Printed by I. W. for Simon Waterson ; in der Inhaltsangabe bei « The Tragedy of Cleopatra » der Vermerk : « newly altered ». 7) 1611, 12^o : Titelblatt wie in 6) ; ein Separatabdruck stimmt in allen Punkten überein und ist gefolgt von einer Epistel « To the Reader »,

* Schon 1600 erschienen Auszüge aus «Cleopatra» in Allot's England's Parnassus (neu hsg. v. Collier 1867), die vom Hsg. leider nicht eingesehen werden konnten.

welche zuerst in der Ausgabe von 1607, und zwar den Werken vorangestellt, erscheint, ebenso wie in der Gesamtausgabe von 1611.

Nach dem Tode Samuel Daniels hat sein Bruder John D. die Werke ediert: *The whole Workes of Samuel Daniel, Esquire in Poetrie*. London, Printed by Nicholas Okes for Simon Waterson, and are to be sold at his shoppe in Paules Churchyard at the Signe of the Crowne, 1623. Das beigelegte Portraitkupfer entspricht jenem des ersten Druckes (1594). Für die « Cleopatra » ist der Text von 1601/2 verwendet. 1718 erschien eine neue Ausgabe in 2 Bänden: *The Poetical Works of Mr Samuel Daniel, Author of the English History. To which is prefix'd, Memoirs of his Life and Writings*. London: Printed for Robert Gosling, against St. Dunstan's Church, Fleetstreet; W. Mears at the Lamb, and Jonas Browne, at the Black Swan, without Temple Bar. Der Text der « Cleopatra » ist der der Ausgabe von 1623, wie gemeinsame Druckfehler [*smoakt* für *smoake*, v. 365, oder *odely* für *only*, v. 1172] beweisen. — Auch in neueren Sammlungen sind Teile der « Cleopatra » Tragödie aufgenommen, so in Chalmers-Johnson, *English Poets*, London, 1810, die Dedikationsepistel und die Chorpartien. 1899 hat H. C. Beeching « A Selection from the Poetrie of Samuel Daniel and Michael Drayton », London, J. M. Dent, herausgegeben. Von der « Cleopatra » wird abgedruckt: 1) der Chorus nach dem letzten Akt (vv. 1771-1855); 2) der Tod der Cleopatra (vv. 89-231 der Varianten zu V, 2) und 3) die letzte Strophe des Chorus nach dem I. Akt (vv. 360-371) auf Grund der Grosart'schen Ausgabe*. Die Ausgabe von Alex. B. Grosart,

* Beechings Bemerkung zu *smoakt* [v. 365]: « *smoke*, so 1602. Every edition I have seen subsequent to this, including Grosart's, reads *smoakt*, which gives no sense », ist unrichtig, da die Ausgaben von 1605, 1607 und 1611 gleichfalls richtig « *smoake* » lesen, ebenso wie jene von 1594, 1599 und 1601/2; der Druckfehler erscheint zum erstenmal in der posthumen Ausgabe von 1623 (vgl. oben).

The Complete Works in Verse and Prose of Samuel Daniel, Edited with Memorial-Introduction and a Glossarial Index embracing Notes and Illustrations, London 1885 f. (Printed for private Circulation, 100 copies only) in 6 Bänden, legt für die « Cleopatra » den Text der Ausgabe von 1623 zu Grunde, der durch Druckfehler vielfach entstellt ist (vgl. oben) und auch nicht die letzte vom Autor redigierte Lesart enthält, wie sie in den Ausgaben von 1607 und 1611 (« newly altered ») vorliegt, sondern auf jener von 1601/2 basiert.

§ 2. *Text.* Die Grundlage der vorliegenden Ausgabe bildet der Text vom Jahre 1611, d. i., soweit eruierbar, der letzte, der noch bei Lebzeiten des Autors erschien. Sämtliche sieben in Betracht gezogenen Ausgaben zerfallen in drei Gruppen, welche von einander erheblich abweichen, bei denen aber die einzelnen Glieder untereinander geringe Variationen aufweisen :

I. 1594 = 1 ; II. 1599 = 2^a, 1601 = 2^b, 1602 = 2^c, 1605 = 2^d ;
III. 1607 = 3^a, 1611 = 3^b.

Die Gruppen I und II stimmen, abgesehen von einigen bedeutenden Variationen im I. Akt (= II. Akt, I. Szene in III), im grossen und ganzen überein, differieren dagegen derart von Gruppe III, dass hier tatsächlich ein völlig umgestaltetes, neues Stück erscheint. Das Argument ist allerdings — und nicht bloss nach dem Wortlaut im Text — dasselbe geblieben, aber die vergrösserte Personenzahl (es kommen hinzu : *Cæsario*, *Dircetus*, *Diomedes* [= *Nuntius*], *Charmion*, *Eras*) deutet schon an, dass manche Aktion, welche in der I. und II. Gruppe durch Erzählung wiedergegeben war, jetzt durch Dialogisierung direkt vermittelt wird.

Die Hauptunterschiede zwischen 1, 2 (a, b, c, d), 3 (a, b) sind folgende :

In 1, 2 setzt das Stück unmittelbar vor dem Tode der Cleopatra ein, in 3 dagegen gleich unmittelbar nach dem

Tode des Antonius. In 1, 2 beginnt das Stück mit Akt II, Sz. 1 als Monolog der Cleopatra, wobei auch 1 und 2 von einander abweichen, anderseits 2 und 3 gemeinsame Abweichungen von 1 aufweisen. An diese Szene schliesst in 1, 2 der Chorus, vv. 311-371, an. Der II. Akt in 1, 2 entspricht Akt II, Sz. 2 in 3 und ist als Dialog zwischen Caesar und Proculeius eingerichtet. Der Akt schliesst mit dem Chorus, vv. 1056-1126, (in 3 nach dem III. Akt). Der III. Akt ist bis auf unwesentliche Varianten in allen Drucken gleich, wird aber in 1 und 2 mit Chorus, vv. 713-773, beschlossen, welcher in 3 dem II. Akt folgt. Der IV. Akt setzt in 1, 2 wie in 3 (dort IV, 1) ein und findet bei v. 1186 seine Fortsetzung in Akt I, vv. 5-124. Der Rest von Akt I, Sz. 1 und 2 fehlt in 1, 2. Diese Szenen enthalten den Abschied der Cleopatra von ihrem Sohn Caesario und die Erzählung des Dircetus vom Tode des Antonius. Dann folgt in 1, 2 der um einige Verse erweiterte Rest von Akt IV, Sz. 1, und daran anschliessend Akt IV, Sz. 2 als Monolog der Cleopatra, wobei in 1, 2 mehrere Abschnitte (der wichtigste vv. 1354-1377) noch fehlen; Akt IV, Sz. 3 ist in 1, 2 als Erzählung des Rodon in Akt IV, Sz. 1 enthalten. Den Akt beschliesst der Chorus, vv. 1461-1531. Der V. Akt beginnt in 1, 2 wie in 3, nur sind in 3 einige Abschnitte weggefallen (nach v. 1589). Akt V, Sz. 2 enthält in 1, 2 die an den Chorus gerichtete Erzählung des Nuntius vom Tode der Cleopatra, von welcher nur kurze Partien in 3 benützt werden. Der Inhalt der 2. Szene des V. Aktes ist der gleiche in 1, 2 und 3, doch ist in 3 infolge der Dialogisierung manche Schilderung verloren gegangen (« Der Tod der Cleopatra », vgl. oben Beeching's Auswahl), anderseits hat dadurch 3 an Lebhaftigkeit gewonnen.

Die wichtigste Differenz zwischen den beiden Textgruppen ist also, dass in der jüngeren einige Züge, die in der älteren bloss erzählt werden, in Handlung umgesetzt erscheinen. Wir finden daher die Personenzahl erweitert, den Aus-

druck lebendiger und natürlicher. Anderseits müssen wir in der älteren Version eine bessere Konzentration anerkennen, da hier die Handlung selbst mehr begrenzt und die Anzahl der Spieler soweit als möglich beschränkt ist. Diese Tatsache, die vom Standpunkt des klassizistischen Dramas als eine Verbesserung anzusehen ist, dürfte John Daniel bewogen haben, in der Gesamtausgabe von 1623 den ursprünglichen Text wiederherzustellen.

§ 3. *Quelle.* Die Quelle der Tragödie ist wahrscheinlich die Übersetzung des Plutarch von *Thomas North* (1579), obwohl die Charaktere, besonders die Gestalt der Cleopatra von der Darstellung des antiken Biographen stark abweichen, in welcher die Königin als der böse Geist des Antonius erscheint. Bei der Begrenzung des Stoffes ist eine Entwicklung des Charakters nach dem Vorbild Plutarchs unmöglich. Gegen das Ende finden wir aber auch bei diesem Cleopatra als trauernde Witwe, die ihrem toten Gatten und ihrer Ehre das letzte Gut, ihr Leben opfert.

Eine Reihe wörtlicher Übereinstimmungen mit North's Übersetzung, von denen die auffälligsten hier angeführt seien, deuten auf eine Benützung dieser Quelle :

1) *North* (ed. 1579, p. 1008 B).

But one of the gouernors also called *Rhodon*, even such another as *Theodorus*, perswaded him to returne into his contrie, and told him that *Cæsar* sent for him to geue him his mothers kingdom. So, as *Cæsar* was determining with him selfe what he should doe, Arrius sayd vnto him.

Too Many Cæsars is not good.

Alluding vnto a certaine verse of Homer, that saith :

Too Many Lords doth not vvell.

Vgl. Cleopatra, vv. 1190-1198 ; von *Theodorus* ist v. 1200 f. die Rede ; die Worte des *Arius*, die auf den Vers Homers anspielen, sind bei Daniel nicht an *Cæsar* gerichtet, sondern

an *Philostratus*, aber bei derselben Gelegenheit, nämlich als die beiden von der geplanten Ermordung *Cæsarios* sprechen (v. 883).

2) *North*, 1008 D.

Cleopatra,..... when she sawe *Cæsar* come into her chamber..... fell downe at his feete maruellously disfigured..... she had plucked her heare from her head.....

Yet her good grace..... and the force of her bewtie not altogether defaced.

Vgl. *Cleop.*, vv. 1025/6; 1029-1032.

3) *North*, 1008 E.

Die Beschuldigung des Schatzmeisters und Sekretärs der *Cleop.*, *Seleucus*: «.....that she had not set in al, but kept many things back of purpose. *Cleopatra* was in such rage with him, that she flew vpon him, and tooke him by the heare of the head, and boxed him wellfauoredly. *Cæsar* fell a laughing, and parted the fray. Alas said she, O *Cæsar*: is not this a great shame and reproche, that thou hauing vouchsaued to take the peines to come vnto me, and hast done me this honor, poore wretche and caitife creature, brought vnto the pitiefull and miserable estate: and that mine owne seruauents should come now to accuse me, though it may be I haue reserued some iuells & trifles meete for women, but not for me (poore soule) to set out my selfe withall, but meaning to geue some pretie presents and gifts vnto *Octauia* and *Liui*a, that they making meanes & intercession for me to thee, thou mightest yet extend thy fauor and mercie vpon me?»

Vgl. *Cleop.*, vv. 981-996.

4) *North*, 1009 D.

Now whilst she was at dinner, there came a cuntrieman, and brought her a basket. The souldiers that warded at the gates, asked him straight what he had in his basket. He opened the basket, and tooke out the leaues that covered

the figges, and shewed them that they were figges he brought. They all of them maruelled to see so goodly figges. The cuntrieman laughed to heare them, and bad them take some if they would. They beleued he told them truely, and so bad him carie them in.

Vgl. Cleop., vv. 79-88 der Varianten zu V, 2.

5) *North*, 1009 E/F.

.....and her other woman, called *Charmion*, halfe dead and trembling, trimming the Diademe, which *Cleopatra* ware vpon her head. One of the souldiers seeing her, angrily sayd vnto her : is that well done, Charmion? Verie well sayd she againe, and meete for a Princes discended from the race of so many noble kings.

Vgl. Cleop., vv. 287/8 der Var. zu V, 2 ; vv. 1768-1770.

§ 4. *Metrik*. Die Basis für die Beurteilung der metrischen Gestalt bildet Daniel's « *A Defence of Rhyme* * », 1603 gegen Campion's « *Observations in the Art of English Poesie* » erschienen. Wenn auch der erste Druck der « *Cleopatra* » neun Jahre früher erscheint, so kann man dennoch schon hier seine Prinzipien, welche Reim und Rhythmus gewisse Freiheiten gestatten, beobachten.

Die Tragödie ist in fünftaktigen, kreuzweise gereimten jambischen Versen geschrieben, mit Ausnahme der Dedikation (Stanzen) und der Chorpartien, welche einen besonderen komplizierten Bau aufweisen. Gelegentlich finden sich auch Reimpaare, welche in der Regel allgemeine Sentenzen enthalten oder zum Abschluss längerer Abschnitte dienen.

Übereinstimmend mit dem, was Daniel in seiner oben genannten Schrift sagt, zieht er männliche Reime den weib-

* Gregory Smith, *Elizabethan Critical Essays*. Oxford, 1904. Clar. Press., vol. II, p. 356 f.

lichen vor* ; die weiblichen Reime, die vorkommen, sind meist durch Suffixe gebildet, z. B. *Princes — offences, resounded — confounded, declining — shining* ; es kommen aber auch klingende Reime vor, wie : *praise vs — betraies vs, beraue me — deceiue thee.*

Die Unregelmässigkeiten des Reimes sind sehr mannigfach :

- a) Unreine Reime : *they — inioy, heigth — sigh, people — feeble.*
- b) Reiche (rührende) Reime : *get — forget, deeme it — redeeme it, looke (subst.) — looke (verb).*
- c) Gebrochene Reime : *honour — vpon her, horror — for her.*
- d) Zusammengesetzte Reime : *praise vs — betraies vs, beraue me — deceiue thee, reproue me — loue thee, gone vs — vpon vs.*
- e) Erweiterter Reim : *deseru'd — reseru'd.*
- f) Unaccentuierter Reim : *vnpleasing — bloodshedding.*
- g) Accentuiert-unaccentuierte Reime : *Rhodanus — honor vs, try — wofully.*

Die Stellung der Caesur wechselt ; am häufigsten ist die stumpfe Caesur nach dem zweiten und dritten Versfuss ; seltener die stumpfe Caesur nach dem ersten und vierten Fuss ; auch die klingenden lyrischen Caesuren sind zahlreich.

Fälle von schwebender Betonung sind nicht selten, sie finden sich meistens am Anfang der Verszeilen im ersten Fuss, aber auch in der Mitte der Verse : *Planting ; Haue I ; Following ; Promise, flatter, threaten* **.

Die Synizese ist häufig : *influence, Delia, spirit, Following, How improuident* ; ebenso die Synkope : *call'd, pleas'd, know'st* ; Elision : *t'infuse, th'honor, m'ambition, t'were, th'overwhelming.*

* « I would willingly if I could haue altered it, [to mixe uncertainly feminine Rhymes with masculine] in all the rest, holding feminine Rhymes to be fittest for Ditties » (a. a. O., p. 383).

** Doch weiss der Verfasser von « *A Defence of Rhyme* » sehr wohl zwischen dem Gebrauche dieser Freiheit und deren Missbrauch zu unterscheiden, wenn er folgende Verse als schlecht beurteilt :

« *None thinks reward rendred worthy his worth* » oder « *Though Death doth consume, yet Vertue preserues* », den er geschickt durch Umstellung verbessert : « *... Vertue yet...* » (a. a. O., p. 378).

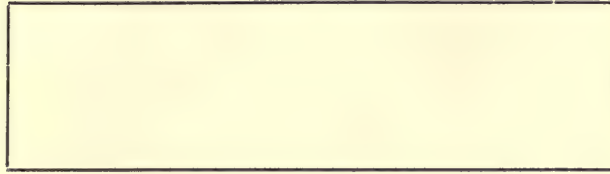
THE
TRAGEDIE
OF
CLEOPATRA.

To the Ladie M A R I E
Countesse of PEMBROOKE.

Ætas prima canat veneres, postrema tumultus.



AT LONDON
Printed by I. L. for Simon Waterfon.
1611.



TO THE MOST

NOBLE LADIE,

the Ladie Marie,

Countesse of PEM-

5

BROOKE.

BEhold the work which once thou didst impose
Great sister of the Muses glorious starre
Of femall worth, who didst at first disclose
Vnto our times, what noble powers there are
10 In womens harts, and sent example farre
To call vp others to like studious thoughts
And me at first from out my low repose
Didst raise to sing of state and tragicke notes
Whilst I contented with an humble song
15 Made musique to my selfe that pleas'd me best
And

- And onely told of Delia and her wrong
And praised her eyes, & plained mine own vnrest
A text from whence [my] muse had not digrest
Had I not seene thy well grac'd *Anthonie*
20 Adorn'd by thy sweete stile in our faire tongue
T'expect his *Cleopatras* company.
And that those nations which at first in me
The then delicious *Wilton* did impresse
That arbor of the Muses grac'd by thee
25 And which did likewise grace thy worthinesse
Were growne to apprehend how th'images
Of action and of greatnesse figured were
Made me attempt t'attire her miserie
In th'habit I conceiued became her care
30 Which if to her it be not fitted right
Yet in the sute of nature sure it is
And is the language that affliction might
Perhaps deliuer when it spake distresse
And as it was I did the same addresse
35 To thy cleere vnderstanding and therein
Thy noble name, as in her proper right
Continued euer since that time hath beene
And so must likewise still, now it is cast
Into this shape that I haue giuen thereto
40 Which now must stand, being like to be the last
That I shall euer herein haue to doe.

And

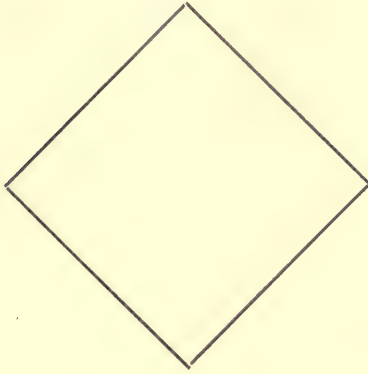
- And glad I am I haue renewd to you
 The vowes I owe your worth, although thereby
 There can no glory vnto you accrew
- 45 Who consecrate your proper memory.
 Those holy Hymnes the melody of heauen
 Which Israels singer to his God did frame
 Vnto thy voice eternall fame hath giuen
 And shewes thee deere to him from whence they
- 50 In them shall rest thy euer reuerent name (came,
 So long as Sions God remaineth honored
 And till confusion hath alle zeale bereauen
 And murthered faith and temples ruined
 By them great Lady you shall then be knowne
- 55 When *Wilton* may lie leuell with the ground
 And this is that which you may call your owne
 Which sacrilegious Time cannot confound :
 Here you suruiue your selfe, here are you found
 Of late succeeding ages fresh in fame,
- 60 This monument cannot be ouerthrowne,
 Where in eternall brasse remainses your name.
 O that the Ocean did not bound our stile
 VVithin these strict and narrow limits, so,
 But that the musique of our well tund Ile
- 65 Might hēce be heard to Mintium arme & Po,
 That they might know how far Thames doth out
 Declined Tybur, and might not contemne. (goe

Our

- Our Northerne tunes, but now another while
 Receiue from vs more then we had from them
- 70 Or why may not some after-comming hand
 Vnlocke these limits, open our confines,
 And breake asunder this imprisoned band
 T'inlarge our spirits, and let our designes
 Planting our roses on the Apinines,
- 75 And to Iberus, Loyce and Arue to teach
 That we part glory with their, and our land
 Being match forworth, coms not behind in speech
 Let them produce the best of all they may
 Since Rome left bearing, who bare more thē men
- 80 And we shall paralell them euery way
 In all the glorious actions of the men.
 Our Phœbus is the same that theirs hath been,
 How euer ignorance, phantasticke growne
 Rates them aboue the valew that they pay,
- 85 And like strange notes, and disesteemes our owne
 They cannot shew a *Sidney*, let them shew
 All their choice peeces, and bring all in one
 And altogether shall not make that shew
 Of wonder and delight, as he hath done :
- 90 He hath th' Olimpiā prize (of all that run
 Or euer shall with mortall powers) possest
 In that faire course of glory and yet now
Sydney is not our all, although our best.

That

That influence had Elizaes blessed peace
95 Peculiar to her glory as it spread
That sacred flame of many, and th'increase
Did grace the season, and her honoured.
And if the same come now extinfuished
By the distemperature of time, and cease
100 Suffice we were not yet behind the rest,
But had our part of glorie with the best.



The Argument.

- A
- After the death of *Antonius*, *Cleopatra*, (living still in the monument shee had caused to be built,) could not by any meanes be drawne forth, although *Octavius Cæsar* very earnestly laboured it, and sent *Proculeius*, to vse all diligence to bring her vnto him : for that he thought it would be a great ornament to his triumphs, to get her aliue to Rome. But neuer would shee put her selfe into the hands
- 10 of *Proculeius*, although on a time he found the meanes (by a window that was at the toppe of the Monument,) to come downe vnto her : where hee perswaded her (all he might) to yeeld herselfe to *Cæsars* mercy. Which she (to be rid of him) cunningly seemed to grant vnto.
- 15 After that, *Octavius* in person went to visite her, to whome she excused her offence, laying all the fault vpon the greatnes, and feare shee had of *Antonius*, and withall seemed very tractable, and willing to be disposed of by him.
- 20 Whereupon *Octavius*, thinking himselfe sure resolved presently to send her away to Rome, Whereof *Dolabella*, a fauorite of *Cæsars* (and one that was growne into some good liking of her) hauing certified her shee makes her humble petition to *Cæsar* that he would suffer her to sacrifice to the Ghost of *Antonius*, which beeing granted her, shee was brought vnto his Sepulchre, where after her rites performed she returned to the monument, and there dined with great magnificence. And
- in

in dinner time, came there one in, the habite of a coun-
 30 triman, with a basket af figges vnto her, who (vnsuspe-
 cted) was suffered to carry them in : And in that basket
 (among the Figges) were conueied the Aspicks where-
 with she did her selfe to death. Dinner being ended, she
 dispatched Letters to *Cæsar*, containing great lamenta-
 35 tions with an earnest supplication, that she might be in-
 tombed with *Antonius*. Whereupon *Cæsar*, knowing
 what she intended, sent presently with all speede, Mens-
 sengers to haue preuented her death, which notwithstan-
 ding, before they came, was dispatched.

40 *Cæsario* her sonne, which she had by *Iulius Cæsar*
 (conueyed before vnto *India*, out of the danger of the
 warres) was about the same time of her death, murthe-
 red at Rhodes; trained thether by the falshood of his Tu-
 tor, corrupted by *Cæsar*. And so hereby came the race of
 45 the *Ptolomies* to bee wholly extinct, and the flourishing
 rich kingdome of Egypt vtterly ouerthrowne and sub-
 dued.

The Names of the Actors.

	Cleopatra.	Seleucus.
50	Oct. Cæsar.	Rhodon.
	Cæsario.	Dircetus.
	Dolabella,	Diomedes.
	Proculeius,	Charmion.
	Arius.	Eras.
55	Philostratus.	

THE TRAGEDIE
of *CLEOPATRA.*

ACTUS I. SCÆNA I.

Cleopatra. Cæsario. Rodon.

- 5 Come *Rodon*, here, conuey from out this coast
This pretious iemme, the chieftest I haue left,
The iewell of my soule I valew most,
My deare *Cæsario* : Saue him, saue my theft,
Guide him to India, lead him farre from hence.
- 10 Conceale where secure he may remaine,
Till better fortune call him backe from thence,
And *Egypt's* peace be reconcil'd againe,
For this is he that may our hopes bring backe,
The rising Sunne of our declining state :
- 15 These be the hands that may restore our wracke,
And raise the shattered ruines made of late :
He may giue limits to the boundlesse pride
Of fierce *Octanius*, and abate his might,
Great *Iulius* ofspring, he may come to guide
- 20 The Empire of the world, as his by right.
Ro. No doubt he may, deare Soueraigne when the rage
Of this confused storme is ouer-past,
That furiously now beates vpon this age,
And may be, is too violent to last.

And

25 And *Cæsars* fortune which now seemes to grow
 Into th'Ascendent of felicitie,
 And makes the round and full of glory now,
 May come to waine like others wretchednes :
 No tyrant can prescribe no iniurie :

30 Kings Rights may oft be sicke, but neuer die :

Cle. *Ch.* *Rodon*, my selfe, those turnes of Chance haue seen
 And known both sides of fortune, worst & best,
 And therefore he, whose birth, whose sexe hath been
 Worthier then mine, why should not he reblest

35 Turne backe to rule the scepter of this land ?
 Which ah, how well it would become his hand !

O how he seemes the modell of his syre,
 Now doe I gaze my *Cæsar* in his face :
 Such was his gate, so did his lookes aspire,

40 Such was his threatning brow, such was his grace ;
 Hie shouldred, and his forehead euen as hie,
 And had he not, ay me, bin borne so late,
 He might haue ruld the worlds wide Monarchy,
 And haue bin the Champion of our State.

45 But O deare sonne, the time yeilds no delaies,
 Sonne of my youth, flie hence, O flie, be gone,
 Reserue thy selfe, ordain'd for better daies,
 For much thou hast to ground thy hopes vpon.
 Leaue me thy wofull mother to indure

50 The fury of this tempest here alone,
 Who cares not for her selte, so thou besure :
 Thou maiest reuenge when others can but mone.
Rodon will see the safe, *Rodon* will guid
 Thee in the way, thou shalt not need to feare,

55 *Rodon* my taithful seruant will prouide
 What shall be best for thee, take thou no care.
 And O good *Rodon*, tender well his youth,
 The waies are long, and dangerous euery where ;
 I vrge it not, that I doe doubt thy truth,

But

- 60 But mothers cast the worst, and alwaies feare.
 « The absent danger greater still appeares,
 « Less feares he, who is neere the thing he feares.
Rod. Madame, nor can, nor haue I other gage ;
 To lay for this assurance of my troth,
- 65 But th' earnest of that faith, which all my age
 Your grace hath tri'd : and which againe by oath
 Vnto the care of this sweet Prince I vow,
 Whose safetie I will tender with more heede
 Then mine owne life. For consider how
- 70 The life of Egypt stands on his good speed :
 And doubt not Madame *Cæsar* left vs hath
 The posterne gate of *Nylus* free to flie,
 And *India* lies beyond the bounds of wrath,
 And owes no homage to his Empery.
- 75 And there we shall find welcome, there remaine
 Safe, till good fortune brings vs backe againe.
Cl. But ah, I know not what presaging thought
 My spirit suggests of ominous euent :
 And yet perhaps my loue doth make me dote
- 80 On idle shadowes, which my feares present.
 But yet the memorie of mine owne fate,
 Makes me feare his, and yet why should I feare ?
 His fortune may in time regaine his state,
 And he with greater glory gouerne here.
- 85 But yet I feare the *Genius* of our race,
 By some more powerfull spirit comes ouerthrowne,
 Our blood must be extinct, in my disgrace,
 And Egypt haue no more kings of their owne.
 Then let him stay, and let vs fall together,
- 90 If it be fore-decreed that we must fall :
 Yet who knowes what may come, let him goe thither
 What Marchant in one vessell venters all ?
 Let vs diuide our starres, goe, goe my sonne :
 Let not the fate of Egypt finde you here :

Trie

- 95 Trie if so be thy Destinie can shun
 The commoon wracke of vs, by beeing there.
 But who is he found euer yet defence
 Against the heauens, or hide him any where?
 Then what need I to send thee so farre hence
 100 To seeke thy death, that maiest as well die here?
 And here die with thy mother, die in rest,
 Not traueilling to what will come to thee :
 Why should we leaue our blood vnto the East,
 When Egypt may a tombe sufficient be?
 105 O my diuided soule what shall I doe,
 Whereon shall now my resolution rest?
 When both are bad, how shall I know the best?
 Stay; I may hap to worke with *Cæsar* now,
 That he may yield him to restore thy right.
 110 Goe; *Cæsar* neuer will consent that thou
 So neere in blood shalt be so great in might.
 Then take him *Rodon*, goe my sonne, farwell.
 But stay : there's something I would gladly say,
 Yet nothing now. But O God speed you well,
 115 Lest saying more, that more might make thee stay.
 Yet let me speake, perhaps it is the last
 That euer I shall speake to thee, my sonne,
 Doe mothers use to part in such post haste?
 What must I end when I haue scarce begun?
 120 Ah no (deare heart) tis no such slender twine
 Wherewith the knot is tide twixt me and thee :
 That blood within thy vaines came out of mine,
 Parting from thee, I part from part of me.
 And therefore I must speake. Yet what? O sonne,
 125 Though I haue made an ende, I haue not done.
Cæs. Deare soueraigne mother, suffer not your care
 To tumult thus with th' honor of your state :
 These miseries of ours no strangers are,
 Nor

- Nor is it new to be vnfortunate.
 130 And this good, let your many sorrowes past
 Worke on your heart t'inharden it at last.
 Looke but on all the neighbour States beside,
 Of *Europe, Afrique, Asia*, and but note
 What Kings ? what States ? hath not the Roman pride
 135 Ransackt, confounded, or else seruile brought ?
 And since we are so borne that by our fate,
 Against the stormes we cannot now beare saile,
 And that the boistrous current of their state
 Will beare downe all our fortunes, and preuaile :
 140 Let vt yet temper with the time : and thinke
 The windes may change, & all these States opprest,
 Colleagu'd in one, may turne againe to sincke
 Their Greatnesse, who now holds them all distrest :
 And I may lead their troupes, and at the walls
 145 Of greedie *Rome*, reuenge the wronged blood
 Of th'innocent, which now for vengeance calls,
 And doe th'inthrall'd Prouinces this good.
 And therefore my deare mother doe not leaue
 To hope the best, I doubt not my returne.
 150 I shall doe well, let not your grieve bereaue
 Your eies of seeing those comforts when they turne.
Cleop. Well, worthy sonne, and worthily the sonne
 Of such a father. And in this thou shew'st
 From whence thou cam'st ; I say no more : begone,
 155 Grow in thy vertue, as in yeares thou grow'st.

Exeunt.

Cleopatra sola.

- Poore comforts can they giue, whom our distresse
 Makes miserable, and like comfortlesse.
 160 Alas, such forced cheering from our owne,
 Vpon our griefes doe more affliction lay,
 To thinke, that by our meanes they are vndone,
 On whom we sought our glory to conuay.

Well

Well then, here is a sad daies worke begun :
 165 For first, betweene these armes my Antony
 Expir'd this day : and whilst I did vphold
 His struggling limmes in his last extasie,
 The yet vnclosed wound, which his owne sword
 Had made before, burst out, imbru'd my wombe,
 170 And here with these faire collours of my Lord
 Which now I weare : I come from out a tombe,
 To send away this deerest part of me
 Vnto distresse, and now whilst time I haue,
 I got t'interre my spouse. So shall I see
 175 My sonne dispatcht for death, my loue t'his graue.
Exit.

SCENA. II.

Octavius. Dircetus. Gallus. Proculeius.

What newes brings now *Dircetus* from our foes ?
 180 Will *Antony* yet struggle beeing vndone ?
Dir. No *Cæsar* he will neuer vex thee more.
 His worke is ended, *Anthony hath done*.
 Here is the sword that hath cut off the knot
 Of his intangled fortunes, and hath freed
 185 His grieued life from his dishonor'd blot.
Oct. Who is the man that did effect this deed ?
Dir. His owne hand and this sword hath done the deed.
Oct. Relate *Dircetus* of the manner how.
Dir. My Lord when *Anthony* had made this last
 190 And desperate triall of his fortunes, and
 With all the forces which he had amast
 From out each coast and corner of the land.
Had

- Had brought them to their worke, perceiuing how
His ships in stead of blowes shooke hands with yours
195 And that his powers by land were vanquisht now,
Backe to the city he with grieve retires,
Confounded with his fortunes, crying out,
That *Cleopatra* had betraid his trust.
Shee all amaz'd, and fearing least he mought
200 In this conceipt to farther rages burst,
Hastes to the tombe which shee erected had
(A stately vault to *Isis* temple ioyn'd)
And thence caus'd word be sent how she was dead,
And had dispatcht herself, through grieve of mind.
205 Which when *Antonius* heard, he straight burst forth
Into this passion : what ? and hast thou then
Preuented me, braue Queene, by thy great worth
Hath *Cleopatra* taught the worke of men ?
Hath shee out gone me in the greatest part
210 Of resolution, to die worthily ?
And must I follow ? doth shee disappoint
Me, of th'exemple to teach her to die ?
Come *Eros*, doe this seruice for thy Lord,
The best and greatest pleasure thou canst doe :
215 Imploy this weapon here ; come, make this sword
That woone me honor, now to saue it to.
It is a deede of glory, *Eros*, this :
For these drie deaths are womonish and base.
It is for an vnsinewed feeblenesse
220 T'expire in feathers, and t'attend disgrace.
Ther's no thing easier *Eros* then to die,
For when men cannot stand, thus they may flie.
Eros, his late infranchis'd seruant, takes
The sword, as if he would haue done thee deede,
225 And on it falls himselfe : and thereby makes
Antonius more confus'd to see him bleed,
Who should haue first euented out his breath,

O *Eros*

- O *Eros*, said he, and hath fortune quite
 Forsaken me ? must I b'out gone in all ?
- 230 What? can I not by by losing get a right ?
 Shall I not haue the vpper hand to fall
 In death ? must both a woman, and a slaue
 The start before me of this glory haue ?
 With that he takes his sword, and down he falls
- 235 Vpon the dismall point, which makes a gate
 Spacious enough for death, but that the walls
 Of nature skorn'd to let it in thereat.
 And he suruiues his death. Which when his loue,
 His royall *Cleopatra* vnderstood,
- 240 Shee sends with speede his body to remooue,
 The body of her loue imbru'd with blood.
 Which brought vnto her tombe, (lest that the prease
 Which came with him, might violate her vow)
 Shee drawes him vp in rowles of taffaty
- 245 T'a window at the top, vvhich did allow
 A little light vnto her monument.
 There *Charmion*, & poore *Eras*, two weake maids
 Foretir'd with watching, and their mistresse care,
 Tugd at the pulley hauing no other aydes,
- 250 And vp they hoise the swounding body there
 Of pale *Antonius* showring out his blood
 On th' vnder-lookers, which there gazing stood.
 And when they had now wrought him vp halfe way
 (Their feeble powers vnable more to doe)
- 255 The frame stood still, the body at a stay,
 When *Cleopatra* all her strength thereto
 Puts, with what vigor loue, and care could vse,
 So that it mooues againe, and then againe
 It comes to stay. When shee a fresh renewes
- 260 Her hold, and with reinforced power doth straine,
 And all the weight of her weake bodie laies,
 Whose surcharg'd heart more then her body wayes.

At

- At length she wrought him vp' and takes him in,
Laies his yet breathing body on her bed,
265 Applies all meanes his sences to rewinne
Stops vp his wound againe that freshly bled.
Calls him her Lord, her spouse, her Emperor.
Forgets herowne distresse to comfort his,
And interpoints each comfort with a kisse.
270 He after some small rest and cherishing
Raises himselfe, and frames a forced cheere,
Wils *Cleopatra* leaue her languishing,
And like herselfe these accidents to beare,
Considering they had had so full a part
275 Of glory in this world : and that the turne
Of Change was come, and Fortune would depart.
T'was now in vaine for her to stand and mourne :
But rather ought she seeke her race to free,
By all the meanes (her honor sau'd) she can,
280 And none about *Octavius* trust, said hee,
But *Proculeius* he's an honest man.
And for my selfe, suffize *I* haue not fail'd
In any acte of worth : and now in this,
A Romane hath but here a Romane quail'd,
285 And onely but by fortunes variousnes.
And yet herein I may this glorie take,
That he who me vndoes, my sword did make.
This said, he calls for wine, which he requires
Perhaps not for his thirst, but t'end his breath :
290 Which hauing taken, forthwith he expires :
And thus haue I declar'd *Antonius* death.
Octa. I grieue to heare this much. And I protest
By all the gods, I am no cause of this,
He sought his ruine, wrought his owne vnrest ;
295 And here letters are my witnesses,
How oft I labour'd to recall him home,
And woo'd his friendship, su'd to him for loue :

And

- And how he still contemn'd me, skorned Rome,
 Your selues my fellowv cittizens can proue.
- 300 But *Gallus* you, and *Proculeius* haste
 With speede vnto the cittie to preuent
 Lest *Cleopatra* desperat now at last,
 Bereaue vs of the onely ornament,
 Which is herselfe, that can our triumphs grace.
- 305 Or fire the treasure which she hath amast
 Within that vault, of all the precious stuffe
 That Egypt yields, and disappoint at last
 Our trauels of the benefit thereof.
 Supple her heart with hopes of kinde reliefe,
- 310 Giue words of oyle, vnto her wounds of grieve.

CHORVS.

- B***Ehold what furies still
 Torment their tortur'd brest,
 Who by their doing ill,
 315 Haue wrought the worlds vnrest.
 Which when being most distrest,
 Yet more to vexe their sprite,
 The hideous face of sinne,
 (In formes they must detest)
 320 Stands euer in their sight.
 Their conscience still within
 Th'eternall larum is
 That euer-barkin dog that cals vpon their misse.*
- No meanes at all to hide*
- 325 *Man from himselfe can finde :
 No way to start aside*

Out

Out from the hell of minde.

But in himselfe confin'd,

He still sees sinne before :

330 *And winged-footed paine,*

That swiftly comes behind,

The which is euer more,

The sure and certaine gaine

Impietie doth get,

335 *And wanton lose respect, that doth it selfe forget.*

And Cleopatra now,

Well sees the dangerous way

She tooke, and car'd not how,

Which led her to decay :

340 *And likewise makes vs pay*

For her disordered lust,

The int'rest of our blood :

Or liue a seruile pray,

Vnder a hand vniust,

345 *And others shall thinke good.*

This hath her riot wonne,

And thus she hath her state, herselfe, and vs vndone.

Now euery mouth can tell,

What close was muttered :

350 *How that shee did not well,*

To take the course she did,

For now is nothing hid,

Of what feare did restraine.

No secret closely done,

355 *But now is uttered.*

The text is made most plaine

That flatterie glos'd vpon,

The bed of sinne reueal'd,

And all the luxurie that shame would haue conceal'd.

The

- 360 *The scene is broken downe,
And all vncovered lies,
The purple Actors knowne
Scarce men, whom men despise.
The complots of the wise*
- 365 *Proue imperfections smoake ;
And all what wonder gaue
To pleasure-gazing eies,
Lies scattered, dasht, all broke.
Thus much beguiled haue*
- 370 *Poore vnconsiderate wights,
These momentary pleasures, fugitiue delights.*

ACTVS II. SCENA I.

Cleopatra. Charmion. Eras.

- 375 **Y**Et do I liue, and yet can breath extend
My life beyond my life : nor can my graue
Shut vp my griefes, to make my end my end ?
Will yet confusion haue more then I haue ?
Is th'honor, wonder, glory, pompe, and all
Of *Cleopatra* dead, and shee not dead ?
- 380 *Haue I out-liu'd my selfe, and seene the fall
Of all vpon me, and not ruined ?
Can yet these eies indure the gastly looke
Of desolations darke and ougly face,
Woont but on fortunes fairest side to looke,*
- 385 *Where nought was, but applause, but smiles, & grace
Whil'st on his shoulders all my rest relyde,
On whom the burthen of my ambition lay,
My *Atlas*, and the Champion of my pride,*
- That

That did the world of all my glory sway :
 390 Who here throwne downe, disgrac'd, confounded lies
 Crusht with the weight of shame and infamie,
 Following th'vnluckie partie of mine eyes,
 The traines of lust and imbecillitie.

Now who would thinke that I were she who late
 395 With all the ornaments on earth enrich'd,
 Enuiron'd with delights, ingyrt with state,
 Glittering in pompe that hearts and eyes bewitch',
 Should thus distrest cast downe from off the height,
 Leueld with low disgrac'd calamitie.

400 Vnder the weight of such affliction sigh,
 Reduc'd vnto th'extreamest misery ?

Am I the woman whose inuentiue pride
 Adorn'd like *Isis* skorn'd mortalitie ?
 Ist I would haue my frailtie so belid',

405 That flatterie could perswade I was not I ?
 Well, now I see they but delude that praise vs,
 Greatnes is mockt, prosperitie betraies vs.
 And we are but our selues, although this cloud
 Of enterpoised-smoake makes vs seeme more.

410 The spreading parts of pompe whereof w'are proud,
 Are not our parts, but parts of other store.
 Witnesse these gallant fortune-following traines,
 These summer-swallowes of felicitie,
 Gone with the heat of all, see what remaines,

415 This monument, two maides, and wretched I.
 And I t'adorne their triumphs am reseru'd
 A captiue kept to honor others spoiles,
 Whom *Cæsar* labours so to hold preseru'd,
 And seekes to entertaine my life with wiles,

420 But *Cæsar* it is more then thou canst doe,
 Promise, flatter, threaten extreamities,
 Employ thy wits, and all thy force thereto,
 I haue both hands and will, and I can die.

Char.

Char. Come *Eras*, shall we goe and interrupt

425 With some perswading words, this streame of mone ?

Eras. No *Charmion*, stay the current that is stopt

Will but swell vp the more : let her alone.

Time hath not brought this hot disease of griefe,

T'a *Crisis* fit to take a medicine yet ;

430 Tis out of season to apply reliefe,

To sorrowes late begun, and in the fit

Calamitie is stubborne in the prime

Of new afflictions, we must giue it time.

Cle. Shall Rome behold my scepter-bearing hand

435 Behinde me bound, and glory in my teares ?

Shall I passe by whereas *Octauia* stands

To view my misery, that purchast hers ?

No, I disdaine that head which wore a crowne

Should stoope to take vp that which others giue :

440 I must not be, vnlesse I be mine owne,

T'is sweet to die, when we are forc'd to liue.

Nor had I staid behind my selfe this space,

Nor paid such interest for my borrowed breath,

But that hereby I seeke to purchase grace

445 For my distressed seed after my death.

Its that which doth my deerest blood controule,

Thats it alas detaines me from my tombe,

Whilst nature brings to contradict my soule,

The argument of mine vnhappy wombe.

450 But vvhat know I if th'heauens haue decreed,

And that the sinnes of Egypt haue deseru'd

The *Ptolemies* should faile, and none succeed,

And that my weakenes was thereto reseru'd,

That I should bring confusion to my state,

455 And fill the measure of iniquitie :

And my luxuriousnes should end the date

Of loose and il-dispensed libertie.

If it be so, then what need these delayes,

Since

- Since I was made the meanes of miserie,
 460 Why should I not but make my death my praise,
 That had my life but for mine infamie?
 And leaue ingrau'd in letters of my bloud,
 A fit memoriall for the times to come,
 To be example for such princes good,
 465 As please themselues, and care not vvhat become.
- Char.* Deare madam, do not thus afflict your heart
 No doubt you may worke out a meane to liue,
 And hold your state, and haue as great a part
 In *Cæsars* grace, as *Anthony* could giue :
 470 He that in this sort doth sollicit you,
 And treats by all the gentle meanes he can,
 Why should you doubt that he should proue vntrue,
 Or thinke him so disnatured a man,
 To wrong your royall trust or dignitie?
- 475 *Cle.* *Charmion*, because that now I am not I;
 My fortune, with my beauty, and my youth.
 Hath left me vnto misery and thrall,
 And *Cæsar* cares not now by vvayes of truth,
 But cunning, to get honor by my fall.
- 480 *Ch.* You know not *Cæsars* dealing till you try.
Cle. To try, were to be lost and then descry.
Ch. You to *Antonius* did commit your selfe,
 And why might not *Antonius* so haue done?
- Cl.* I vppone *Antonius*, *Cæsar* hath me vvoone.
 485 *Er.* But madame, you might haue articulated
 With *Cæsar*, when [by] *Thyrinus* he of late
 Did offer you so kindly as he did.
 Vpon conditions to haue held your state.
- Cl.* Tis true, I know, I might haue held my state,
 490 If I would then haue *Anthony* betrai'd,
Er. And vvhy not now, since *Anthony* is dead,
 And that *Octavius* hath the end he sought,
 May not you haue vvhat then was offered?

On

- On fairer tearmes, if things were fitly wrought
 495 And that you vvould not teach him to deny,
 By doubting him, or asking fearefully.
- Cleop.* Fearefully *Eras* peace, I skorne to feare,
 Who novv am got out of the reach of wrath,
 About the power of pride. What should I feare
 500 The might of men, that am at one with death ?
 Speake ye no more to me I charge you here.
 What ? will you two, who still haue tooke my part
 In all my fortunes, now conspire with feare
 To make me mutinie against my heart ?
- 505 No *Antony*, because the world takes note
 That t' was my weakenesse that hath ruin'd thee.
 And my ambitious practises are thought
 The motiue and the cause of all to be.
 My constancie shall vndeceiue their mindes,
 510 And I will bring the wnesse of my bloud
 To testifie my fortitude, that binds
 My equall loue, to fall with him I stood,
 Though God thou knowvst, this staine is wrongly laid
 Vpon my soule, whom ill successe makes ill :
- 515 And my condemn'd misfortune hath no aide
 Against provvd lucke that argues vvhat it vvill.
 Defects I grant I had, but this vvvas vvorst,
 That being the first to fall, I d'id not first.
- Though I perhaps could lighten mine owne side
 520 With some excuse of my constrained case
 Dravvne downe with power : but that were to diuide
 My shame, to stand alone in my disgrace.
 To cleare me so, would shew my affections naught,
 And make th'excuse more hainous then the fault.
- 525 Since if I should our errors disvnite,
 I should confound afflictions onely rest,
 That from sterne death euen steales a sad delight
 To die with friends, or with the like distrest.
- And

- And I confesse me bound to sacrifice
 530 To death and thee the life that doth reproue me.
 Our like distresse I feele doth simpathize,
 And now affliction makes me truely loue thee.
 When heretofore my vaine lasciuious Cort
 Fertile in euery fresh and new-choyce pleasure,
 535 Affoarded me so bountifull disport,
 That I to stay on loue, had neuer leisure.
 My vagabound desires no limits found,
 For lust is endlesse, pleasure hath no bound.
 When thou bred in the strictnesse of the citie,
 540 The ryotous pompe of monarchs neuer learnedst
 Invr'd to warres, in womens wiles vnwitty,
 Whilst others faind, thou felt'st to loue in earnest
 Not knowing women loue them best that houer,
 And make least reckoning of a doting louer.
 545 And yet thou camst but in by beauties waine,
 When nevv appearing wrinckles of declining
 Wrought with the hand of yeares, seem'd to detain
 My graces light, as novv but dimly shining,
 Euen in the confines of mine age, when I
 550 Fayling of vvhat I was, and was but thus,
 When such as vve doe deeme in iealousie,
 That men loue for themselues, and not for vs.
 Then and but thus thou didst loue most sincerely.
 (O *Antony* that best deserud'st it better)
 555 This Autumne of my beauty, bought so deerely,
 For which in more then death I stand thy debtor
 Which I will pay thee with so true a minde,
 Casting vp all these deepe accounts of mine
 As both our soules, and all the vvorld shall find
 560 All reckonings cleer'd betwixt my loue and thine.
 But to the end I may preuent prowd *Cesar*,
 Who doth so eagerly my life importune :
 I must preuaile me of this little leisure,

Seeming

Seeming to suite my mind vnto my fortune :
 565 Thereby vvith more conuenience to prouide,
 For vvhat my death, and honor best shall fit,
 An yeelding base content must vvary hide
 My last designe, till I accomplish it :
 That hereby yet the vvorld shall see that I,
 570 Although vnnvise to liue, had vvit to die.

SCENA II.

Octavius. Proculeius. Gallus.

Kingdoms I see vve vvin, vve conquer Climats,
 Yet cannot vanquish hearts, nor force obedience
 575 Affections kept in close concealed limits,
 Stand farre without the reach of svvord or violence.
 Who forc'd doe pay vs duty, pay not loue,
 Free is the heart, the temple of thy mind,
 The sanctuarie sacred from aboue,
 580 Where nature [keepest the] keyes that loose and bind,
 No mortall hand force open can that dore,
 So close shut vp and lockt to all mankind,
 I see mens bodies onely ours, no more,
 The rest anothers right that rules the minde.
 585 Behold my forces vanquisht haue this land,
 Subdu'd that strong Competitor of mine,
 All Egypt yeelds to my al-conquering hand :
 And all their states, and all themselues resigne,
 Onely this Queene, that hath lost all this all,
 590 To vvhom is nothing left, except a mind,
 Cannot into a thought of yeelding fall,
 To be dispos'd as chance hath her assign'd,
 But

But *Proculeius* tell me what y' haue done,
Will yet this womans stubborne heart be vvoon ?
595 *Pro.* My Lord, we haue all gentle meanes impli'd,
According to th'instructions which you gaue,
And hope in time she vvill be pacifi'd,
And these are all the likelihoods vve haue.
First vvhen vve came into her arched vault,
600 I Gallus se[n]t to entertaine the time
Belovv vvith her, conferring at a grate,
Whilst I found meanes vp to the top to clime :
He there persvvaded her to leaue that place,
And come to *Cæsar* and to sue for grace.
605 She said, she crau'd not life, but leaue to die,
Yet for her children praid they might inherit,
That *Cæsar* would vouchsafe in clemencie,
To pittie them, though she deseru'd no merit.
I now descending in the closest wise,
610 And silent manner as I could contriue,
Her woman me descri'd, and out she cries,
Ah *Cleopatra*, thou art forc'd aliue.
With that the queene raught from her side her knife,
And euen in act to stab her martyred brest,
615 I stept with speed, and held, and sau'd her life,
And forth her trembling hand the blade did wrest.
Ah *Cleopatra*, vvhy should you said I,
Both iniurie your selfe, and *Cæsar* so ?
Barre him the honor of his victory,
620 Who euer deales most mildly with his foe.
Liue, and relye on him, whose mercy vvill
To your submission alwayes ready be.
With that, as all amaz'd, she held her still,
Tvvixt maiestie confus'd, and miserie.
625 Her prowd grieu'd eies, held sorrow and disdaine,
State and distresse warring within her soule,
Dying ambition dispossess her raigne :

So

- So base affliction seemed to controule.
 Like as a burning lampe whose liquor spent
 630 With intermitted flames, when dead you deeme it,
 Sends forth a dying flash, as discontent,
 That so the matter failes that should redeeme it.
 So she in spight to see her lovvs borne state,
 When all her hopes were now consum'd to naught,
 635 Skornes yet to make an abiection league with fate,
 Or once descend into a servile thought.
 Th'imperious tongue vnused to beseech,
 Authoritie confounds with prayers so,
 As words of rule, conioyn'd with humble speech
 640 Shew'd she would liue, yet skorn'd to pray her foe.
 Ah what hath *Cæsar* here to doe, said she,
 In confines of the dead, in darknes lying,
 Will he not grant our sepulchers be free,
 But violate the priuiledge of dying?
 645 What must he stretch forth his ambitious hand
 Into the right of death, and force vs here?
 Hath misery no couert where to stand
 Free from the storme of pride, ist safe no where?
 Cannot my land, my gold, my crowne suffice,
 650 And all that I held deare, to him made common,
 But that he thus must seeke to tyrannize,
 On th' vvofull body of a vvretched woman?
 Tell him my frailtie, and the Gods haue giuen
 Sufficient glory, could he be content,
 655 And let him novv vvith his desires make euen,
 And leaue me heare in horror to lament.
 Now he hath taken all away from me,
 What must he take me from my selfe by force?
 Ah let him yet in mercy leaue me free
 660 The kingdome of this poore distressed coarse.
 No other crowne I seeke, no other good.
 Yet wish that *Cæsar* would vouchsafe this grace,

To

- To fauour the wofull ofspring of my blood,
 A mixed issue yet of Romane race.
 665 If blood and name be linkes of loue in princes,
 Not spurs of hate : my poore *Cæsario* may
 Find fauour notwithstanding mine offences,
 And *Cæsars* blood, may *Cæsars* raging stay.
 But if that with the torrent of my fall.
 670 All must be rapt with furious violence,
 And no respect, or no regard at all.
 Can ought with nature, or with blood dispence,
 Then be it so, if needs it must be so.
 There staies and shrinkes, in th' horror of her state,
 675 When I began to mittigate her woe,
 And your great mercies vnto her relate.
 And wisht her not despaire but rather come,
 And sue for grace, and shake of all vaine feares,
 No doubt shee should obtaine as gentle doome
 680 As shee desir'd, both for her selfe and hers.
 Wherewith at last shee seem'd well pacifi'd,
 And gaue great shevves to be content to liue,
 And said shee vvas resolu'd your doome t'abide,
 And to accept what fauour you would giue.
 685 And therewithall crau'd onely that she might
 Performe some obsequies vnto the coarse
 Of her dead loue, according to her rite,
 And in the meane time might be free from force.
 I granting from thy part this her request,
 690 Left her for then, as seeming well in rest.
Oct. But doe you thinke she will remaine so still ?
Pro. I thinke, and doe assure my selfe shee will :
Oct. Ah, priuat thoughts, aime wide from princes hearts
 Whose state allow's them not t'act their owne parts.
 695 *Pro.* Why tis her safetie to come yeild to the
Oct. But tis more honour for her to die free.
Pro. She may by yeilding work her childrēs good,

Oct.

Oct. Princes respect their honor more then blood

Pro. Can Princes power dispence with nature thā.

700 *Oct.* To be a Prince is more then be a man.

Pro. Ther's none but haue in time perswaded bin :

Oct. And so might shee too, were shee not a queene.

Pro. Diuers respects will force her be reclaim'd.

Oct. Princes like Lyons neuer vvill be tam'd.

705 *A priuate man may yeild, and care not hovv,
But greater hearts vvill breake before they bovv.*

*And sure I feare she vvill not condescend
To liue to grace our spoiles vvith her disgrace.*

710 *But yet let still a vvary troupe attend,
To guard her person, and to watch the place :
And well obserue with whom shee doth conferre,
And shortly will my selfe goe visit her.*

CHORVS.

715 *S*terne, and imperious Nemesis,
Daughter of iustice, most seuer,
That art the worlds great arbitresse,
And Queene of causes raining here :
Whose swift-sure hand is euer neere
Eternall iustice, righting wrong :
720 *Who neuer yet deferrest long*
The prowds decay, the weakes redresse :
But through thy power euery where,
Doest raze the great, and raise the lesse
The lesse made great doest ruine too,
725 *To shew the earth what heauen can doe.*

*Thou from darke-clo'd eternitie,
From*

- From thy blacke cloudy hidden seat,
The worlds disorders doest discry :
Which when they swell so proudly great,
730 Reuersing th' order nature set,
Thou giu'st thy all confounding doome,
Which none can know before it come.
Th'ineuitable destenie,
Which neither wit nor strength can let,
735 Fast chain'd unto necessity,
In mortall things doth order so,
Th'alternate course of weale or woe.
Oh how the powers of heauen doe play
With trauailed mortality :
740 And doth their weakenesse still betray,
In their best prosperitie :
When beeing lifted vp so hie,
They looke beyond themselues so farre,
That to themselues they take no care ;
745 Whilst swift confusion downe doth lay,
Their late prowd mounting vanity :
Bringing their glory to decay,
And with the ruine of their fall,
Extinguish people, state and all.
750 But is it iustice that all we
The innocent poore multitude,
For great mens faults should punisht be,
And to destruction thus persu'd ?
O why should th'heauens vs include,
755 Within the compasse of their fall,
Who of themselues procured all ?
Or doe the gods in close decree,
Occasion take how to extrude
Man from the earth with crueltie ?
760 Ah no, the gods are euer iust,
Our

Our faults excuse their rigor must.

*This is the period Fate set downe,
 To Egypts fat prosperitie :
 Which now vnto her greatest growne,
 765 Must perish thus, by course must die.
 And some must be the causers why
 This reuolution must be wrought :
 As borne to bring their state to naughte
 To change the people and the crowne,
 770 And purge the worlds iniquitie :
 Which vice so farre hath ouergrowne,
 As we, so they that treat vs thus,
 Must one day perish like to vs.*

ACTVS III. SCENA.

775 *Philostratus. Arius. 2, Philosophers.*

HOW deeply *Arius* am I bound to thee,
 That sau'dst from death this wretched life of
 Obtaining *Cæsars* gentle grace for me, mine,
 When I of all help else despair'd but thine :
 780 Although I see in such an vvolfull state,
 Life is not that which should be much desir'd,
 Since all our glories come to end their date,
 Our countries honor and our owne expir'd :
 Now that the hand of wrath hath ouergone vs ;
 785 And that we live in th'armes of our dead mother,
 With blood vnder our feete, ruine vpon vs,
 And in a land most wretched of all other.
 When yet vve reckon life our dearest good,
 And

- And so we liue we care not how we liue,
790 So deepe we feele impressed in our blood
That touch which nature with our breath did giue,
And yet vvhat blasts of words hath learning found
To blow against the feare of death, and dying :
What comforts vnsicke eloquence can sound ?
795 And yet all failes vs in the point of trying.
For whilst we reason with the breath of safetie,
Without the compasse of destruction liuing,
What precepts shew vve then, what courage lofetie,
In taxing others feares in counsell giuing ?
800 When all this aire of svsweet contriued words,
Prooues but weake armour to defend the heart,
For when this ship of life pale terror boords,
Where are our precepts then, where is our arte ?
O who is he that from himselfe can turne,
805 That beares about the body of a man ?
VVho doth not toyle, and labour to adiourne
The day of death by any meanes he can ?
All this I speake to th'end my selfe t'excuse,
For my base begging of a seruile breath,
810 VVherein I my profession did abuse,
So shamefully to seeke t'auoyd my death.
Arius. Philostratus, that same desire to liue,
Possesseth all alike, and grieue not then,
No priuiledge Philosophy doth giue,
815 Though we speake more then men, vve are but men,
And yet in troth these miseries to see,
Wherein vve stand in most extreame distresse,
Might to our selues sufficient motiues be,
To loath this life, and vveigh our death the lesse,
820 For neuer age could better testifie,
What feeble footing pride and greatnes hath,
Hovv soon improuident prosperitie,
Comes caught, and ruin'd in the day of wrath.

See

- See how dismaid confusion keepe those streetes,
 825 That nought but mirth and musique late resounded.
 Hovv nothing vvith our eie but horror meetes ;
 Our state, our vvealth, our glory all confounded.
 Yet vvhat vveake sight did not discern from farre,
 This blacke arising tempest all-confounding ?
 830 Who did not see we should be vvhat vve are,
 When pride and ryot grevv to such abounding ?
 When dissolute impietie possest,
 Th'vnrespectiue mindes of prince and people,
 When insolent securitie found rest,
 835 In vvanton thoughts, vvith lust, and ease made feeble.
 Then vvhen vnvvary peace, with fat fed pleasure,
 Nevv fresh inuented ryots still detected,
 Purchas'd with all the *Ptolomies* rich treasure,
 Our lavves, our gods, our mysteries neglected.
 840 Who savv not how this confluence of vice,
 This inundation of disorders vvould
 S'ugn^{lph} this state in th'end, that no deuce
 Our vtter ouerwhelming could withhold ?
 O thou, and I, haue heard, and read, and knovvne,
 845 Of mighty lands, are wofully incombred,
 And fram'd by them examples for our owne,
 Which novv amongst examples must be numbred.
 For this decree a law from hie is giuen,
 An ancient Cannon of eternall date,
 850 In Consistorie of the stars of heauen,
 Entred the booke of vnauoyded fate :
 That no state can in th' height of happines,
 In th'exaltation of their glory stand,
 But thither once arriu'd, declining lesse,
 855 Doe wracke themselues, or fall by others hand.
 Thus doth th'euerchanging course of things,
 Run a perpetuall circle euer turning,
 And that same day that highest glory brings,
 Brings

- Brings vs vnto the point of backe returning.
 860 For senslesse sensualitie doth euer
 Accompanie our loose felicity,
 A fatall vvhitc, whose charmes doth leaue vs neuer
 Till vve leaue all confus'd with miserie.
 When yet our selues must be the cause vve fall,
 865 Although the same be first decreed on hie,
 Our error still must beare the blame of all,
 Thus must it be, earth aske not heauen why.
 Yet mightie men, with vvary iealous hand,
 Striue to cut off all obstacles of feare,
 870 All whatsoever seemes but to withstand
 Their least conceit of quiet held so deare :
 And so intrench themselues with blood, with crimes,
 With all iniustice, as their feares dispose,
 Yet for all this we see, how oftentimes,
 875 The meanes they worke to keepe, are meanes to lose.
 And sure I cannot see how this can lie
 With great *Augustus* safetie and renovvne,
 T'extinguish thus the race of *Antony*
 And *Cleopatra*, to confirme his owne.
- 880 *Phi.* Why must their issue be extinguished ?
Ar. It must : *Antillus* is already dead.
Ph. And what *Casario* sprung of *Cæsars* blood ?
Ar. Pluralitie of *Cæsars* are not good.
Phi. Alas, what hurt procures his feeble arme ?
 885 *Ar.* Not for it doth, but that it may doe harme.
Phi. Then when it offers hurt repress the same.
Ar. Men seeke to quench a sparke before it flame.
Ph. Tis [in]humane an innocent to kill.
Ar. Such innocents seldome remaine so still.
 890 They thinke his death will farther tumults cease,
 Competitors are subiects miseries,
 And to the end to purchase publike peace,
 Great men are made the pleoples sacrifice.

But

But see where *Cæsar* comes himselfe to trie,
 895 And worke the minde of our distressed queene
 To apprehend some emptie hope, whereby
 Shee may be drawne to haue her fortunes seene.
 Though I thinke Rome shall neuer see that face
 That queld her Champions, blush, in base disgrace.
 900 Exeunt.

SCENA II.

Cæsar. Cleopatra Seleucus. Dolabella.

What *Cleopatra*, dost thou doubt so much
 Of *Cæsars* mercie, that thou hid'st thy face?
 905 Or thinke you, your offences can be such,
 As they surmount the measure of our grace?
Cleo. O *Cæsar*, not for that I flie thy sight
 My soule this sad retire of sorrow chose :
 But that my griued soule abhorring light
 910 Likes best in darkenes my disgrace t'inclose :
 And here in those close limits of dispaire,
 This solitarie horror where I bide.
 I thought not euer Roman should repaire
 More, after him, who here distressed di'd.
 915 Yet now here at thy conquering feete I lie,
 A captiue soule that neuer thought to bow,
 Whose happie foote of rule and maiestie,
 Stood late on that same ground thou standest now.
Cæs. Rise madame, rise, your selfe was cause of all,
 920 And yet would all were but your owne alone,
 That others ruine, had not with your fall,
 Brought Rome her sorrowes, to my triumphs mone,
 For

For your dissolu'd that league and loue of blood,
Which makes my winning ioy, a gaine vnpleasing,
925 Who cannot now looke out into our good,
But through the horror of our owne blood shedding.
And all we must attribute vnto you:

Cleop. To me? what, *Cæsar*, should a woman doe,
Opprest with greatnesse what was it for me
930 T' contradict my Lord, being bent thereto?
I was by loue, by feare, by weakenesse, made
An instrument to euery enterprize
For when the Lord of all the orient bade,
Who but obeyd, who then his helpe denies?
935 And how could I withdraw my succouring hand,
From him that had my heart, and what was mine?
The interest of my faith in straitest band
My loue to his, most firmly did combine.

Cæs. Loue? no, alas, it was th'innated hatred,
940 That you and yours have euer borne our people,
That made you seeke all means to haue vs skattered,
To disvnite our strength and make vs feeble.
And therefore did that brest nurce our dissention,
With hope t'exalt your selfe, t'augment your state,
945 To prey vpon the wracke of our contention,
And with the rest our our foes to ioy thereat.

Cle. How easie *Cæsar* is it to accuse,
Whom fortune hath made faultie by their fall,
They who are vanquished may not refuse
950 The titles of reproch th'are charg'd withall.
The conquering cause hath right, wherein thou art,
The ouerthrowne must be the worser part.
Which part is mine, because I lost my part,
No lesser then the portion of a crowne,
955 Ynough for me. Ah what neede I vse art
To gaine by others but to keepe mine owne?
But weaker powers may here see what it is,

To

- To neighbour great competitors so neere,
 If vve take either part we perish thus.
- 960 If newtrall stand, both parties we must feare,
 Alas what shall the forc'd partakers doe,
 When they must aid, and yet must perish too ?
 But *Cæsar* since thy right, or cause is such,
 Weigh not so heauie on calamitie,
- 965 Depresse not the afflicted ouermuch ;
 Thy chieftest glorie is thy lenitie.
 Th'inheritance of mercie from him take,
 Of vvhom thou hast thy fortune, and thy name.
 Great *Cæsar* me a queene at first did make,
- 970 And let not *Cæsar* now confound the same.
 Read heare these lines which still I keepe with me,
 The witnes of his loue and fauours euer,
 And God forbid it should be said of thee,
 That *Cæsar* wrong'd the fauoured of *Cæsar* :
- 975 For looke what I haue beene to *Antony*,
 Thinke thou the same I might haue beene to thee.
 And here I do present you with the note
 Of all my treasure, all the iewels rare,
 Which Egypt hath in many ages gote
- 980 And looke what *Cleopatra* hath is there.
Sel. Nay ther's not all set downe within that rowle,
 I know some thing she hath reseru'd apart.
Cle. What? vile and gratefull wretch durst thou con-
 Thy queene, and soueraigne, caytiffe as thou art? trowle
- 985 *Ces.* Hold, hold, a poore reuenge, can worke so feeble
Cle. Ah *Cæsar* what a great indignitie, hands
 Is this, that here my vassall subiect stands,
 T'accuse me to my Lord of treacherie ?
 If I reseru'd some certaine womens toyes
- 990 Alas, it was not for my selfe, God knowes,
 Poore miserable soule that little ioyes
 In trifling ornaments, in outward showes.

But

- But what I kept I kept to make my way,
 Vnto thy *Liui*a and *Octavius* grace,
 995 That thereby in compassion moued, they
 Might mediate thy fauour in my case.
Ces. Well *Cleopatra*, feare not, you shall finde
 What fauour you desire, or can expect,
 For *Cæsar* neuer yet was found but kinde,
 1000 To such as yeeld and can themselues subiect.
 And therefore comfort now your drooping minde
 Relieue your heart thus ouercharg'd with care,
 How well I will intreat ye you shall finde,
 So soone as some affaires dispatched are.
 1005 Til when farewell. *Cle.* Thanks thrice renowned *Cesar*,
 Poore *Cleopatra* rests thine owne for euer,
Dola. No meruaile *Cæsar*, though our greatest spirits,
 Haue to the power of such a charming beautie,
 Bin brought to yeeld the honor of their merits,
 1010 Forgetting all respect of [of] other dutie.
 Then whil'st the glory of her youth remain'd
 The vvondring obiect to each wanton eie
 Before her full of sweet, with sorrow waind,
 Came to the period of this miserie.
 1015 If still, euen in the midst of griefe and horror
 Such beautie shines, th'row clouds of age and sorrowv,
 If euen those svveet decaies seeme to pleade for her,
 Which from affliction mouing graces borrow :
 If in calamitie she could thus moue,
 1020 What could shee do adorn'd with youth and loue ?
 What could she do then when as spreading wide,
 The pompe of beauty in her glory dight,
 When arm'd with vvonder shee could vse beside
 The ingines of her loue, Hope, and Delight ?
 1025 Daughter of meruaile, Beautie, hovv dost thou
 Vnto disgracing sorrowves giue such grace ?
 What povver showes't thou in a distressed brow

To

To make affliction faire, and teares to grace ?
 What can vndressed lockes, dispoyled haire,
 1030 A weeping eie, a wailing face be faire ?
 I see then artlesse feature may content,
 And that true bewtie needs no ornament.

Cæs. What in [a] passion *Dolabella*. what ? take heed.

Let others fresh examples charme this heate,
 1035 You see what mischiefes these vaine humors breed,
 When once they come our iudgements to defeate.
 Indeed I saw shee labour'd to impart,
 Her sweetest graces in her saddest cheere,
 Presuming on that face that knew the art
 1040 To moue, with what respect soeuer t' were.
 But all in vaine, shee takes her aime amisse,
 The ground and marke her leuell much deceiues,
 Time now hath altered all, for neither is
 Shee as shee was nor we as shee conceiues,

1045 And therefore now tis fit shee were more sage,
 Folly, in youth is sinne, madnes in age.

And for my part, I seeke but t'entertaine
 In her, some feeding hope to draw her forth,
 The greatest trophy that my toyle shall gaine,
 1050 Is to bring home a prizall of such worth.
 And now since shee doth seeme so well content,
 To be dispos'd by vs : without more stay,
 Shee with her children shall to Rome be sent,
 Whil'st I by Syria, after take my way.

1055

Exeunt.

CHORVS.

CHORVS.

O *PINION*, how doest thou molest
Th'affected minde of restlesse man ?
Who following thee neuer can,
1060 *Nor euer shall attaine to rest,*
For, getting what thou saist is best,
Yet loe, that best he findes farre wide
Of what thou promisedst before :
For in the same he lookt for more,
1065 *Which proues but small when once tis tride,*
Then something else thou findest beside,
To draw him still from thought to thought,
When in the end all proues but nought.
Farther from rest he findes him then,
1070 *Then at the first when he began.*

O malecontent seducing guest,
Contriuier of our greatest woes :
Which borne of winde, and fed with showes,
Doost nurce thy selfe in thine vnrest.
1075 *Judging vngotten things the best,*
Or what thou in conceit designst,
And all things in the world dost deeme,
Not as they are, but as they seeme :
Which shewes, [their state] thou ill defin'st,
1080 *And liu'st to come in present pin'st.*
For what thou hast, thou still dost lacke :
O mindes tormentor, bodies wracke,
Vaine promiser of that sweete rest,
Which neuer any yet possessest.

If

- 1085 *If we vnto ambition tend,
 Then doest thou draw our weakenesse on,
 With vaine imagination
 Of that which neuer hath an end.
 Or if that lust we apprehend.*
- 1090 *How doth that pleasant plague infest ?
 O what strange formes of luxurie,
 Thou straight dost cast t'intice vs by ?
 And tel'st vs that is euer best,
 Which we haue neuer yet possest.*
- 1095 *And that more pleasure rests beside,
 In something that we haue not tri'd.
 And when the same likewise is had,
 Then all is one, and all is bad.*
- 1100 *This Antony can say is true,
 And Cleopatra knowes tis so,
 By th'experience of their woe.
 Shee can say, shee neuer knew
 But that lust found pleasures new,
 And was neuer satisf'd :*
- 1105 *He can say by prooffe of toyle,
 Ambition is a Vulture vile,
 That feedes vpon the heart of pride :
 And finds no rest when all is tri'd.
 For worlds cannot confine the one,*
- 1110 *Th'other lists and bounds hath none.
 And both subuert the mind, the state,
 Procure destruction, enuie, hate.*
- 1115 *And now when all this is prou'd vaine,
 Yet Opinion leaues not here,
 But sticks to Cleopatra neere,
 Perswading now, how shee shall gaine,
 Honour by death, and fame attaine.*
- And*

And what a shame it were to liue,
 Her kingdome lost, her louer dead :
 1120 And so with this perswasion led,
 Despaire doth such a corage giue,
 That nought else can her mind relieue,
 Nor yet diuert her from that thought :
 To this conclusion all is brought,
 1125 This is that rest this vaine world lends,
 To end in death, that all things ends.

ACTVS ~~III~~^{IV}[I].

Seleucus. Rodon.

1130 **F**riend *Rodon* ? neuer in a better hower
 Could I haue met a friend then now I doe,
 Hauing affliction in the greatest power
 Vpon my soule, and none to tell it to.
 For tis some ease our sorrowes to reueale,
 If they to vvhom we shall impart our vvoes,
 1135 Seeme but to feele a part of what we feele,
 And meete vs with a sigh but at a close.
Rod. And neuer friend *Seleucus* found'st thou one,
 That better could beare such a part with thee,
 Who by his ovvne knovves others care to mone,
 1140 And can in like accord of grieve agree.
 And therefore tell th'oppression of thy heart,
 Tell to an eare prepar'd and tun'd to care,
 And I will likevvise vnto thee impart
 As sad a tale as vvhat thou shalt declare.
 1145 So shall vve both our mournefull plaints combine
 I will lament thy state, thou pittie mine.

Sel.

- Sel.* Well then thou know'st how I haue liu'd in grace
 With *Cleopatra*, and esteem'd in Court
 As one of Councell, and of worthy place,
 1150 And euer held my credit in that sort,
 Till now, in this late shifting of our state,
 Whe thinking to haue vs'd a meane to clime,
 And fled the wretched, flowne vnto the great,
 Following the fortune of the present time ;
 1155 I come to be disgrac'd and ruin'd cleane.
 For hauing all the secrets of the Queene
 Reueal'd to *Cesar*, to haue fauour wonne
 My treachery hath purchas't due disgrace,
 My falshood's loath'd, and not without great reason,
 1160 For Princes though they get, yet in this case,
 They hate the traytor, though they loue [the] treason.
 For how could he imagine I could be
 Entire to him, beeing false vnto mine owne ?
 And false to such a worthy Queene as shee
 1165 As had me rais'd, by whome my state was growne.
 He saw t' was not for zeale to him I bare,
 But for base feare, and mine estate to settle.
 Weaknes is false, and faith in cowards rare,
 Feare finds out shifts, timidity is subtle.
 1170 And therefore skorn'd of him, skorn'd of mine owne,
 Hatefull to all that looke into my state :
 Despis'd *Seleucus* now is onely growne
 The marke of infamie, that's pointed at.
Rod. Tis much thou saist, and too too much to feele,
 1175 And I doe pittie and lament thy fall :
 But yet all this which thou do'st here reueale,
 Compar'd with mine, will make thine seem but smal,
 Although my fault be in the selfe-same kind,
 Yet in degree far greater, far more hatefull.
 1180 Mine sprung of mischief, thine from feeble minde,
 Mine stain'd with blood, thou onely but vngratefull.

For

- For *Cleopatra* did commit to me
 The best and dearest treasure of her blood,
 Her sonne *Cesar*io, with a hope to free
 1185 Him, from the danger wherein Egypt stood :
 And chard'd my faith, that I should safely guide,
 And close to India should conuey him hence :
 Which faith, I most vnkindly falsif'd,
 And with my faith and conscience did dispence.
 1190 For skarce vvere vve arriu'd vnto the shore,
 But *Cesar* hauing knowvledge of our way,
 Had sent an agent thither sent before,
 To labour me *Cesar*io to betray,
 Who vvith revvards and promises so large,
 1195 Assail'd me then, that I grew soone content,
 And backe againe did reconuey my charge,
 Pretending that *Octavius* for him sent,
 To make him king of Egypt presently,
 And in their hands haue left him now to die.
 1200 *Sel.* But how hath *Cesar* since rewarded thee ?
Rod. As he hath thee ; and I expect the same
 As *Theodorus* had to fall to me.
 And with as great extremitie of shame,
 For *Theodorus* when he had betraid
 1205 The yong *Antillus* sonne of *Antony*,
 And at his death from off his necke, conuey'd
 A iewell : which being askt, he did deny :
Cesar occasion tooke to hang him streight.
 Such instruments with Princes liue not long :
 1210 Though they must vse those actors of deceit,
 Yet still their sight, seemes to obraid their wrong :
 And therefore they must needs this danger run,
 And in the net of their owne guile be caught,
 They may not liue to brag what they haue done,
 1215 For what is done is not the Princes fault.
 But here comes *Cleopatra* wofull Queene,
 And

And our shame will not that we should be seene.

Exeunt.

SCENA II.

Cleopatra. Charmion. Eras. Diomedes.

Cleopatra reading
Dolabellas letter.

- 1220 **W**Hat hath my face yet power to win a louer,
Can this torne remnant serue to grace me so
That it can *Cæsars* secret plots discouer
What he intends with me and mine to doe?
Why then poore beauty thou hast done thy last,
1225 And best good seruice thou could'st euer doe me,
For now the time of death reueal'd thou hast,
Which in my life did'st serue but to vndoe me.
Heere *Dolabella* far forsooth in loue,
Writes, how that *Cæsar* meanes forthwith to send
1230 Both me and mine, the aire of Rome to prooue,
There his triumphant Chariot to attend.
I thanke the man, both for his loue, and letter,
The one comes fit to warne me thus before,
But for the other, I must die his debtor,
1235 For *Cleopatra* now can loue no more.
Come Diomedes, thou who hast bin one,
In all my fortunes, and art still all one,
Whom the amazing ruine of my fall,
Neuer deterd to leaue calamitie,
1240 As did those other smooth State-pleasures all,
Who followed but my fortune, and not me.
Tis thou must doe a seruice for thy Queene,
Wherein thy loyaltie must vvorke her best.
Thy honest care and dutie shall be seene,
1245 Performing this, more then in all the rest.
Thou

Thou must seeke out with all thy industrie,
 Two *Aspics*, and conuey them close to me.
 I haue a worke to doe with them in hand,
 Enquire not what, for thou shalt soone see what,
 1250 If th'heauens doe not my designes withstand,
 But doe the charge, and let me shift for that.

Diom. I who am sworne of the societie
 Of death, and haue indur'd the worst of ill
 Prepar'd for all euent, must not deny
 1255 What you command me, come there what there will.
 And I shall vse the aptest skill I may
 To cloake my worke and long I will not stay.

Exit.

Cleop. But hauing leaue I must goe take my leaue,
 1260 And last farewell of my dead *Antony*,
 Whose dearely honord tombe must here receiue
 This sacrifice, the last before I die.

Cleopatra at the tombe of Antonius.

O sacred euer memorable stone,
 1265 Thou hast without my teares, within my flame,
 Receiue th' oblation of the wofulst mone,
 That euer yet from sad affliction came.
 And you deare reliques of my Lord and loue,
 Most precious parcels of the worthiest liuer,
 1270 O let no impious hand dare to remooue
 You out from hence, but rest you here for euer.
 Let Egypt now giue peace vnto you dead,
 Who liuing, gaue you trouble and turmoyle,
 Sleepe quiet in this euerlasting bed,
 1275 In forraine land preferd before your soyle.
 And O if that the spirits of men remaine
 After their bodies, and doe neuer die :
 Then heare thy ghost, thy captiue spouse complaine,
 And be attentiu to her miserie.
 1280 But if that laboursome mortalitie,

Found

- Found this sweete error onely to confine
 The curious search of idle vanitie,
 That would the depth of darknes vndermine
 Or else to giue a rest vnto the thought
- 1285 Of wretched man, with th'after comming ioy
 Of those conceiued fields, whereon we dote,
 To pacifie the present worlds annoy
 Then why doe I complaine me to the ayre ?
 But tis not so, my *Antony* doth heare :
- 1290 His euer liuing Ghost attends my prayer,
 And I do know his houering spirit is neere.
 And I will speake and pray, and mourne to thee,
 O pure immortall soule, that deign'st to heare :
 I feele thou answerst my credulitie,
- 1295 With touch of comfort, finding none else where,
 Thou knowst these hands intomb'd thee here of late,
 Free and unforc'd, which now must seruile be,
 Reseru'd for bands to grace proud *Cæsars* state,
 Who seeke in me to triumph ouer thee.
- 1300 O if in life we could not seuer'd be,
 Shall death diuide our bodies now asunder ?
 Must thine in Egypt, mine in Italy,
 Be made the monuments of fortunes wonder ?
 If any powers be there vvhetheras thou art,
- 1305 Since our owne countrey gods betraies our cause.
 O worke they may their gracious help impart,
 To saue thy wofull wife from such disgrace.
 Doe not permit she would in triumph shew
 The blush of her reproch, ioyn'd with thy shame,
- 1310 But rather let that hatefull tyrant knovv,
 That thou and I had povver t'auoid the same.
 But vvhath doe I spend breath and idle winde,
 In vaine inuoking, a conceiued aide,
 Why doe I not my selfe occasion find,
- 1315 To breake these bounds, vvherein myself am staid ?

Words

- Words are for them that can complaine and liue,
Whose melting hearts compos'd of baser frame,
Can to their sorrowes time and leisure giue,
But *Cleopatra* must not doe the same.
- 1320 No *Antony*, thy loue requireth more,
A lingring death with thee deserues no merit
I must myselfe force open wide a dore
To let out life, and to vnhouse my spirit.
These hands must breake the prison of my soule.
- 1325 To come to thee, there to inioy like state,
As doth the long pent solitary foule,
That hath escapt her cage, and found her mate.
This sacrifice, to sacrifice my life,
Is that true incense that my loue beseemes,
- 1330 These rites may serue a life-desiring wife,
Who doing them, t'haue done sufficient deemers.
My heart bloud should the purple flovvers haue been
Which here vpon thy tombe to thee are offred,
No smoake but my last gaspe should here bin seene,
- 1335 And this it had bin too, had I bin suffred.
But what haue I, saue onely these bare hands,
And these weake fingers are not yron-pointed,
They cannot pierce the flesh that them withstands,
And I of all meanes else am disappointed.
- 1340 But yet I must away, and meanes seeke hovv
To come vnto thee, and to vnion vs,
O death art thou [art] so hard to come by novv,
That we must pray, intreat, and seeke thee thus?
But I vvill find, where euer thou doest lie,
- 1345 For who can stay a mind resolu'd to die.
And novv I come to worke th'effect indeed,
I neuer will send more complaints to thee,
I bring my soule, my selfe, and that with speed,
My selfe will bring my soule to *Antony*.
- 1350 Come, goe my maides, my fortunes sole attenders,
Tha[t]

That minister to misery and sorrow,
 Your mistresse you vnto your freedome renders,
 And will discharge your charge, yet ere to morrow.

Eras. Good madame if that worthy heart you beare

1355 Doe hold it fit ; it were a sinne in vs
 To contradict your vvill : but yet we feare
 The world will censure that your doing thus,
 Did issue rather out of your despaire
 Then resolution, and thereby you loose
 1360 Much of your glory, which would be more faire
 In suffring, then escaping thus your foes.
 For when *Pandora* brought the boxe from heauen
 Of all the good and ill that men befall,
 And them immixt vnto the world had giuen,
 1365 Hope in the bottome lay, quite vnder all.
 To shevv that we must still vnto the last
 Attend our fortune, for no doubt there may
 Euen at the bottome of afflictions past
 Be found some happier turne if we but stay.

1370 *Cl. Eras,* that hope is honors enemie,
 A traytor vnto worth, lies on the ground,
 In the base bottome of seruilitie :
 The beggars wealth, a treasure neuer found,
 The dreame of them that wake, a ghost of th'ayre,
 1375 That leads men out of knowledge to their graues,
 A spirit of grosser substance then despaire,
 And let them *Eras* hope, that can be slaues.

And now I am but onely to attend

My mans returne that brings me my dispatch.

1380 God grant his cunning sort to happy end,
 And that his skill may vvell beguile my watch
 So shall I shun disgrace, laeue to be sorry,
 Flye to my loue, scape my foe, free my soule,
 So shall I act the last of life vvith glory,

1385 Die like a Queen, & rest vvithout controule.

Exeunt.

Scena.

SCENA III.

*Cæsario, with a Guard conueying him
to Execution.*

- Now gentle Guard, let me in curtesie
 1390 Rest me a little here, and ease my bands
 You shall not neede to hold me for your eye
 May now as well secure you as your hands.
Gu. Doe, take your ease, *Cæsario*, but not long,
 We haue a charge, which we must needs performe.
 1395 *Cæs.* Loe here brought back, by subtile traine to
 Betraid by Tutors faith, or traitors rather, (death,
 My fault, my bloud, and mine offence my birth,
 For being the sonne of such a mighty father.
 I now am made th'oblation for his fearès, (him,
 1400 Who doubts the poor reuenge these hands may do
 Respecting neither bloud, nor youth nor yeeres,
 Or how small safetie can my death be to him.
 And is this all the good of being borne great?
 Then wretched greatnesse golden misery,
 1405 Pompous distresse, glittering calamitie.
 Is it for this th'ambitious fathers sweat
 To purchase blood and death, for them and theirs:
 Is this th'inheritance that glories get,
 To leaue th'estate of ruine to their heires?
 1410 Then how much better had it been for me,
 From lovv descent, deriu'd of humble birth,
 T'haue eate the svveet-sowre bread of pouertie,
 And drunke of *Nylus* streames, in *Nylus* earth?
 Vnder the couering of some quiet cottage,
 1415 Free from the vvrath of heauen, secure in mind,
 Vntoucht,

- Vntoucht, when proud attempts of Princes dotage
 Imbroyle the world, and ruinate mankind,
 So had he not impeach'd their high condition,
 Who must haue all things cleere, and al made plaine
 1420 Betweene them, and the marke of their ambition,
 That nothing let the prospect of their raigne :
 Where nothing stands, that stands not in submission,
 Whose greatnesse must all in it selfe containe.
 Kings vwill be alone, competitors must downe,
 1425 Neere death he stands, who stands too neere a crown
 Such is my case, *Augustus* will haue all,
 My blood must seale th'assurance of his state,
 Yet ah weake state, which blood assure him shall,
 Whose wrongfull shedding, gods and men doe hate.
 1430 Iniustice cannot scape and flourish still,
 Though men doe not reuenge it, th'heauens will.
 And he that thus doth seeke with bloody hand,
 T'extinguish th'ofspring of anothers race,
 May finde the heauens, his vowes so to withstand,
 1435 That others may depriue him in like case.
 When he shall see his proud contentious bed
 Yeilding him none of his that may inherit,
 Subuert his blood, place others in their steed,
 To pay this his iniustice, her due merit,
 1440 If it be true, (as who can that deny
 Which sacred Priests of *Memphis*, doe foresay,)
 Some of the ofspring yet of *Antony*,
 Shall all the rule of this whole Empire sway
 And then *Augustus* vvhat is it thou gainest
 1445 By poore *Antillus* blood, and this of mine ?
 Nothing but this, thy victory thou stainest,
 And pulst the wrath of heauen on thee and thine.
 In vaine doth man contend against the starres,
 For what he seekes to make, his wisdome mars.
 1450 But in the meane time, he whom fates reserue,

The

The bloody sacrifices of ambition,
 We feele the smart, what euer they deserue,
 And vve indure the heauy times condition,
 The iustice of the heauens reuenging thus,
 1455 Doth onely satisfie it selfe not vs.
 But yet *Cæsario* thou must die content,
 God will reuenge, and men bevvaile the innocent.
 Well now alone ; I rested haue ynovv,
 Performe the charge, my friends, you haue to doe.
 1460 *Exeunt.*

CHORVS.

1465 **M** *isterious Egypt, wonder breeder,
 Strict Religions strange obseruer,
 State-order zeale the best rule-keeper,
 Fostring still in temp'rate feruor :
 O how cam'st thou to lose so wholly
 All religion, law, and order ?
 And thus become the most unholy
 Of all Lands, that Nylus border ?
 1470 How could confus'd Disorder enter
 Where sterne Law sate so seuerely ?
 How durst weake lust and riot venter,
 The eye of iustice looking neerely ?
 Could not those meanes that made thee great,
 1475 Be still the meanes to keepe thy state ?*

*Ah no, the course of things requireth
 Change and alteration euer :
 That staid continuance man desireth,
 Th'vncoustant world yeildeth neuer.*

We

- 1480 *We in our counsels must be blinded,
 and not see what doth import vs :
And oftentimes the thing least minded,
 is the thing that most must hurt vs.
Yet they that haue the sterne in guiding,*
- 1485 *tis their fault that should preuent it,
Who when they see their country sliding,
 for their priuate are contented.
We imitate the greater powers,
The Princes manners fashion ours.*
- 1490 *Th'example of their light regarding,
 vulgar loosenesse much incenses :
Vice vncontrol'd, growes wide enlarging,
 Kings small faults be great offences.
And this hath set the window open*
- 1495 *vnto licence, lust, and riot :
This way confusion first found broken,
 whereby entred our disquiet,
Those lawes that old Sesostris founded,
 and the Ptolemies obserued,*
- 1500 *Hereby first came to be confounded.
 which our state so long preserued.
The wanton luxurie of Court,
Did forme the people of like sort.*
- 1505 *For all (respecting priuate pleasure,)
 vniuersally consenting
To abuse their time, their treasure,
 in their owne delights contenting :
And future dangers nought respecting,
 whereby, (O how easie matter*
- 1510 *Made this so generall neglecting,
 confus'd weaknesse to discatter ?)
Cæsar found th'effect true tried,
 in*

in his easie entrance making.
Who at the sight of armes, discried
 1515 *all our people, all forsaking.*
For riot (worse then warre) so sore
Had wasted all our strength before.

And thus is Egypt seruite rendred
to the insolent destroyer :
 1520 *And all their sumptuous treasure tendred,*
all her wealth that did betray her.
Which poyson (O if heauen be rightfull,)
may so farre infect their sences,
That Egypts pleasures so delightfull,
 1525 *may breed them the like offences.*
And Romans learne our way of weakenesse,
be instructed in our vices :
That our spoyles may spoyle your greatnesse,
ouercome with our deuises.
 1530 *Fill full your hands, and carry home*
Enough from vs to ruine Rome.

ACTVS V. SCENA I.

Dolabella. Titius.

1535 **C**OME tell me *Titius* euery circumstance
 How *Cleopatra* did receiue my nevves,
 Tell euery looke, each gesture, countenance,
 That shee did in my letters-reading vse.
Tit. I shall my Lord, so far as I could note,
 Or my conceit obserue in any vwise,
 1540 It was the time vvhen as shee hauing gote
 Leauē

- Leaue to her dearest dead to sacrifice.
 And novv vvas issuing out the monument
 With odours, incense, garlands in her hand,
 When I approch't (as one from *Cæsar* sent)
 1545 And did her close thy message t'vnderstand,
 Shee turnes her backe, and with her takes me in,
 Reades in thy lines thy strange vnlookt for tale,
 And reades, and smiles, and stares, and doth begin
 Againe to read, then blusht, and then was pale,
 1550 And hauing ended with a sigh, refolds
 The letter vp ; and vvith a fixed eye
 (Which stedfast her imagination holds)
 Shee mus'd a while, standing confusedly,
 At length, ah friend, saith shee, tell thy good Lord
 1555 How deare I hold his pittying of my case,
 That out of his sweet nature can afford
 A miserable woman so much grace,
 Tell him how much my heauy soule doth grieve
 Mercilesse *Cæsar* should so deale with me,
 1560 Pray him that hee the best aduice would giue
 That might diuert him from such cruelty.
 As for my loue, say *Antony* hath all,
 Say that my heart is gone into the graue
 With him, in whom it rests, and euer shall.
 1565 I haue it not my selfe, nor can it haue,
 Yet tell him, he shall more command of me
 Then any, whosoeuer liuing can.
 He that so friendly shewes himselfe to be
 A worthy Roman and a gentleman.
 1570 Although his nation fatall vnto me,
 Haue had mine age a spoyle, my youth a prey,
 Yet his affection must accepted be
 That fauours one from vvhom all run avway.
 Ah, he was worthy then to haue beene lou'd,
 1575 Of *Cleopatra* vvhiles her glory lasted,

Before

Before shee had declining fortune prou'd,
Or seene her honour wrackt, her flovver all blasted.
Novv there is nothing left her but disgrace,
Nothing but her affliction that can mooue.

1580 Tell *Dolabella*, one that's in her case,
Poore soule, needs rather pittie novv then loue.
But shortly shall thy Lord heare more of me.
And ending so her speech, no longer staid,
But hasted to the tombe of Antony.

1585 And this was all shee did, and all shee said.
Dol. Ah sweet distressed Lady, vvhat hard heart
Could choose but pittie thee and loue thee to ?
Thy worthinesse, the state wherein thou art,
Requireth both, and both I vow to doe :

1590 And vvhat my powers and praiera may preuaile,
Ile ioyne them both to hinder thy disgrace :
And euen this present day, I will not faile
To do my best vvith *Cæsar* in this case.

Tit. And sir, euen now herselfe hath letters sent,
1595 I met her messengers as I came hither,
With some dispatch, as he to *Cæsar* went
But knovving not what meanes her sending thither ;
Yet this he told, how *Cleopatra* late
Was come from sacrifice, how richly clad

1600 Was seru'd to dinner, with most sumptuous state,
With all the brauest ornaments shee had.
How hauing din'd, shee writes and sends away
Him, streight to *Cæsar*, and commanded than,
All should depart the tombe ; and none to stay

1605 But her two maides, and one poore countriman.

Dol. When then I know she sendes t'haue audience
And means t'experience vvhat her state can do, (novv
To see if Maiestie will make him bow,
To what affliction could not mooue him to.

1610 And now if that shee could but bring a view

Of

- Of that rare bewtie shee in youth possest,
 The argument wherevwith shee ouerthrevv
 The vvit of *Julius Caesar* and the rest
 Then happily *Augustus* might relent,
 1615 Whilst powerful loue, far stronger then ambition,
 Might worke in him a minde to be content
 To grant her asking in the best condition.
 But beeing as shee is, yet doth shee merit,
 To be respected for what shee hath beene.
 1620 The wonder of her kind of powerfull spirit,
 A glorious Lady, and a mighty queene.
 And now but by a little vveakenes falling
 To doe that vvwhich perhaps sh'vvas forc'd to doe,
 Alas, an error past, is past recalling,
 1625 Take away weakenesse, and take vvomen too.
 But now I goe to be thy aduocate,
 Sweete *Cleopatra*, now Ile vse my heart,
 Thy presence vvill me greatly animate,
 Thy face will teach my tongue, thy loue my heart.

1630

SCENA II.

*Cleopatra. Eras. Charmion. Diomedes.
 the Guard, and Caesars messengers.*

- NOW *Eras* ; come, what nevvves hast thou lookt out,
 Is *Diomedes* comming yet or not ?
 1635 *Eras.* Madame, I haue from off the turret top,
 Viewv'd euery way, he is not comming yet,
Cl. Didst thou see no man tending hitherward ?
Er. None truly madame, but one countriman
 Carrying a basket as I could discern.
Cleo.

1640 *Cle.* Alas then *Eras* I doe feare th'euent
Of my designe, for sure he would not stay
Thus long I know, did not some force preuent
His forward faith, and hold him by the way.

Char. Madame, there may be many hindrances
1645 To counterchecke and interrupt his speed.
He hath a wary worke to doe in this
He must take time.

Cl. *Charmion* tis true indeed.
And yet in all th[is] time me thinkes he might
1650 Effected haue his worke, had all gone right.

Er. Alas we euer thinke the stay is more,
When our desire is run t'our wish before.

Cle. *Eras* I know my will to haue it done,
Rides post, and feare in doing to b'vndone
1655 Puts spurs thereto : whilst that for which we long
Creepes but a foote. Yet sure he staies too long.
Good *Eras* goe and looke out once againe,
Yet stay a while, I know it is in vaine.
O gods, I craue no other fortune I
1660 Of heauen and you, but onely lucke to die :
And shall I not haue that. Well, I will yet
Write my dispatch to *Cæsar*, and when that
Is done, I will dispatch my selfe, what way
Soeuer, I must vse no more delay.

1665 *Enter the Guard with Diomedes.*

Gua. And whither now sir, stay, what haue you there ?

Diom. Good sirs, I haue a simple present here,
Which I would faine deliuer to our queene.

Gu. What ist ? lets see ? *Diom.* And please you sirs it is
1670 Onely for a few choice figs which I haue growne
In mine ovne garden, and are soonest ripe
Of any here about, and euey yeare
I vse to bring a few vnto our queene.
And pray my masters take a taste of them

For

1675 For I assure you they are very good.

Gua. No, no, my friend, goe on, and beare them in.

Cl. Now *Eras*, looke if he be comming yet.

See here he comes, This is that countriman

Which *Eras* thou discrid'st, O happy man,

1680 Can such poore rogues beguile a Princes power ?

Why then I see, it is our outsides most

Doe mocke the vworld. But tell me are they here ?

Speake *Diomedes*. *Diom.* Madame, they are there.

Cl. O good-ill lucke, most fortunate distresse,

1685 Deare *Diomedes*, thou hast blest me now :

And here, goe take these letters, and dismaske

Thy selfe againe, returne to thine owne shape

Good *Diomedes*, and giue *Cæsar* these.

Goe, leaue me here alone, I need no more :

1690 I haue but these to keepe a death in store.

I will not vse their helpe till needes I must,

(And that is now) goe *Diomedes* goe.

Diom. Good madame, I know well this furniture

Of death, is farre more requisite, then that

1695 Of life, where such as you cannot endure

To lie beneath your selues, debas'd in state.

I goe t'effect your will as well in this

As I haue done in that [and] onely pray

Our tutelarie gods to giue successe

1700 Vnto the same, and be it what it may.

Cl. Come rarest beast, that all our Egypt breeds,

How deerely welcome art thou now to me ?

The fairest creature that faire *Nylus* feedes,

Me thinkes I see, in now beholding thee.

1705 Better then death, deaths office thou dischargest,

That with one gentle touch canst free our breath,

And in a pleasing sleepe our soule inlargest,

Making ourselues not priuie to our death.

O welcome now of wonders, wonder chiefe,

That

1710 That open canst with such an easie kay,
 The dore of life, come gentle cunning theefe,
 That from our selues so steal'st our selues avway.
 And now I sacrifice these armes to death,
 That lust late dedicated to delights.

1715 Offring vp for my last, this last of breath,
 The complement of my loues dearest rites.
 What novv false flesh what? and wilt thou conspire
 With *Cæsar* too, as thou vvert none of ours,
 To vvorke my shame, and hinder my desire :

1720 And bend thy ribble parts against my powers?
 Wouldst thou retaine in closure of thy vaines
 That enemy, base life, to let my good?
 No, knowv there is a greater power constraines
 Then can be countercheckt with fearefull blood :

1725 For to a minde that's great nothing seemes great :
 And seeing death to be the last of woes,
 And life lasting disgrace which I shall get,
 What do I lose that haue but life to lose?

Eras. See, not a yeilding shrink, or touch of feare

1730 Consents now to bewray least sence of paine,
 But still in one same sweet vnaltered cheere,
 Her honor doth her dying spirits retaine.

Cle. Well, now this worke of mine is done, here endes

✓ This act of life, that part the fates assign'd

1735 What glory or disgrace this vworld could lend,
 Both haue I had, and both I leaue behind,
 And Egypt now the Theater where I
 Haue acted this, witnes I die vnforc'd,
 Witnes my soule parts free to *Antony*,

1740 And novv prowde tyrant *Cæsar* doe thy vvorst.

Eras. Come *Charmion*, come, wee must not onely
 Spectators in this Scene, but Actors too. (be
 Now comes our part, you know we did agree
 The fellowship of death to vndergoe,

And

- 1745 And though our meaner fortunes cannot claime
 A glorie by this acte, they shall haue fame.
Ch. Eras, I am prepar'd, and here is that
 Will doe the deed.
Er. And here is of the same.
- 1750 *Ch.* But *Eras* ile begin, it is my place.
Er. Nay *Charmion*, here I drinke a death to thee,
 I must be first.
Ch. Indeed thou hast preuented me.
 Yet will I haue this honor to be last
- 1755 Which shall adorne this head, which must be seene
 To weare that crowne in death, her life held fast,
 That all the world may see, shee di'd a queene.
 O see this face the wonder of her life,
 Retaines in death a grace, that graces death.
- 1760 Colour so liuely, cheere so louely rife,
 As none would thinke this bewty could want breath.
 And in that cheere th'impression of a smile,
 Doth seeme to shew shee skorns death & *Cæsar*,
 And glories that shee could them so beguile, (her.
- 1765 And here tels death, how well her death doth please
Cæs. mess. See, we are come too late, this is dispatcht,
Cæsar is disappointed of this grace.
 Why how now *Charmion*, what is this well done?
Ch. Yea very well, and shee that from the race
- 1770 Of so great kings descends doth best become.

CHORVS.

T*Hen thus we haue beheld
 Th'accomplishment of woes
 The full of ruine and
 The*

1775 *The worst of worst of ills :*
 And seene all hope expeld,
 That euer sweet repose,
 Shall repossesse the land,
 That desolation fills,
1780 *And where ambition spills*
 With vncontrouled hand,
 All th'issue of all those
 That so long rule haue held :
 To make vs no more vs,
1785 *But cleane confound vs thus.*

And canst O Nylus thou,
 Father of flouds indure
 That yellow Tyber should
 With sandy streames rule thee ?
1790 *Wilt thou be pleas'd to bowe*
 To him those feete so pure,
 Whose vnkowne head we hold
 A power diuine to be ?
 Thou that didst euer see
1795 *Thy free bankes vncontrould,*
 Liue vnder thine owne care :
 Ah wilt thou beare it now ?
 And now wilt yeild thy streams
 A prey to other Reames ?

1800 *Draw backe thy waters flo*
 To thy concealed head :
 Rockes strangle vp thy waues,
 Stop Cataractes thy fall.
 And turne thy courses so,
1805 *That sandy Desarts dead,*
 The world of dust that craues
 To swallow thee vp all,

May

M[N]ay drinke so much as shall
 Reuiue from vastie graues
 1810 A liuing greene which spread
 Far flourishing, may grow
 On that wide face of death,
 Where nothing now drawes breath,

Fatten some people there,
 1815 Euen as thou vs hast done,
 With plenties wanton store,
 And feeble luxurie :
 And them as vs prepare
 Fit for the day of mone
 1820 Lespected not before.
 Reaue leueld Egypt drie,
 A barren prey to lie,
 Wasted for euermore,
 Of plenties yielding none
 1825 To recompence the care
 Of Victors greedie lust,
 And bring forth nought but dust.

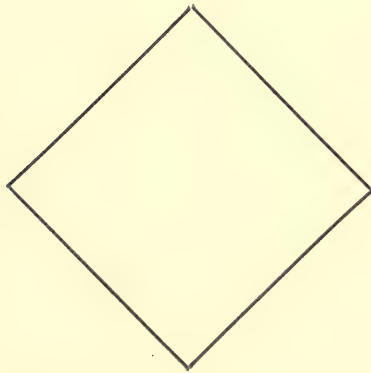
And so O leaue to be,
 Sith thou art what thou art :
 1830 Let not our race possesse
 Th'inheritance of shame,
 The fee of sinne that we
 Haue left them for their part :
 The yoake of whose distresse
 1835 Must still vpbraid our blame,
 Telling from whom it came,
 Our weight of wantonnesse
 Lies heauy on their heart,
 Who neuer more shall see
 1840 The glory of that worth

They

They left who brought vs forth.

*O thou al-seeing light,
High president of Heauen,
You Magistrates the starres
1845 Of that eternall Court
Of Prouidence of Right
Are these the bounds y'haue giuen
Th'vntranspassable barres,
That limit pride so short,
1850 Is greatnesse of this sort,
That greatnesse greatnes marres,
And wrackes it selfe, selfe driuen
On rockes of her owne might ?
Doth order order so
1855 Disorders ouerthrow ?*

FINIS.



In der Ausg. 1607 gehen die folgenden Verse den Werken voran, ebenso in der Gesamt-Ausg. 1611, sie folgen dagegen dem Text in der Einzelausgabe der «Cleopatra» 1611. — In allen früheren Editionen fehlt diese Vorrede an den Leser.

RANDLEISTE. TO THE READER.

(here

BEhold once more with serious labour
Haue I refurnisht out this little frame,
Repaired some parts defectiue here & there,
And passages new added to the same, (were
Some rooms inlargd, made som les thē they
Like to this curious builder who this yeare
Puls downe, and alters what he did the last
As if the thing in doing were more deere
Then being done, & nothing likes that past
For that we euer make the latter day
The scholler of the former, and we finde
Something is still amisse that must delay
Our busines, & leaue worke for vs behind.
As if there were no sabbath of the minde
And howsoeuer be it well or ill
What I haue done, it is mine owne I may
Do whatsoeuer therewithall I wil.

I may pull downe, raise, and reedifie
It is the building of my life the fee
Of Nature, all th'inheritance that I (me
Shall leaue to those which must come after
And all the care I haue is but to see

A 2 These

These lodgings of m'affections neatly drest
Wherein so many noble friends there be
Whose memories with mine must therein
And glad I am that I haue liu'd to see (rest
This edifice renewd, who do but long
To liue t'amend. For man is a tree
That hath his fruite late ripe, and it is long
Before he comes t'his tast, there doth belong
So much to experience, and so infinite
The faces of things are, as hardly we
Discern which lookes the likest vnto right.

Besides these curious times stuf'd with the
Of compositiōs in this kind, do driue (store
Me to examine my defects the more,
And oft wold make me not my self belieue
Did I not know the world wherein I liue,
Which neither is so wise, as that would seeme
Nor certain iudgment of those things doth
That it dislikes, nor that it doth esteeme. (give

I know no work from man yet euer came
But had his marke, & by some error shewd
That it was his, and yet what in the same
Was rare, and worthy, euermore allowd
Safe cōuoy for the rest : the good that's sowd
Thogh rarely paies our cost, & who so looks
T'haue all things in perfection, & in frame
In mens inuentiōs, neuer must read books.

And howsoeuer here detraction may

Disualew

Disvallow this my labour, yet I know
 There wilbe found therein, that which wil pay
 The reckning for the errors which I owe
 And likewise will sufficiently allow
 T'an vndistasted iudgement fit delight
 And let presumptuous selfe-opinion say
 The worst it can, I know I shall haue right.

I know I shall be read, among the rest
 So long as men speake english, and so long
 As verse and vertue shalbe in request
 Or grace to honest industry belong :
 And England since I vse thy present tongue
 Thy form of spech thou must be my defēce
 If to new eares, it seemes not well exprest
 For though I hold not accent I hold sence

And since the measure of our tong we see
 Confirmd by no edict of power doth rest
 But onely vnderneath the regencie
 Of vse and fashion, which may be the best
 Is not for my poore forces to contest
 But as the Peacock, seing himself too weake
 Confest the Eagle fairer far to be
 And yet not in his feathers but his beake.
 Authority of powerfull censure may
 Preiudicate the forme wherein we mould
 This matter of our spirit, but if it pay (wold.
 The eare with substance, we haue that wee
 For that is all which must our credit hold.

The rest (how euer gay, or seeming rich
It be in fashion, wise men will not weigh)
The stampe will not allow it, but the touch
And would to God that nothing faulty
But only that poore accēt in my verse (were
Or that I could all other recknings cleere
Wherwith my hart stāds charg'd, or might
The errors of my iudgmēt passed here (reuers
Or els where, in my bookes, & vnrehearse
What I haue vainely said, or haue addrest
Vnto neglect mistaken in the rest.

Which I do hope to liue yet to retract,
And craue that Englād neuer wil take note
That it was mine. Ile disavow mine act,
And wish it may for euer be forgot,
I trust the world will not of me exact
Against my will, that hath all els I wrote,
I will aske nothing therein for my paine
But onely to haue in mine owne againe.

VARIANTEN.*

Die Dedikation, welche in 2^d und 3^a vollständig fehlt, lautet statt To-memory, vv. 1-45] in 1 und 2^{a-o} [mit Ausnahme der in den Fussnoten für 2^{b,o} angegebenen Änderungen] wie folgt :

To the right honourable, the
Lady Mary, Countesse of
PEMBROKE.

L Oe heere the worke the ¹⁾ which she did impose
Who only doth ²⁾ predominate my Muse :
The starre of wonder, which my labours ³⁾ chose
To guide their way in all ⁴⁾ the course I vse.
She, whose cleare brightnes doth alone ⁵⁾ infuse
Strength to my thoughts, and makes mee what I am ; ⁶⁾
Call'd vp my spirits from out their low repose,
To sing of state and tragick notes to frame.

I, who (contented with an humble song,)
Made musique to my selfe that pleasd me best
And onely told of DELIA and her wrong,
And praisd her eyes, and plain'd mine owne vnrest :
(A text from whence my Muse had not digrest)
Madam, had not thy well grac'd *Anthony*,
Who all alone, hauing remained long,)
Requir'd his *Cleopatras* company.

¹⁾ worke the] labour ²⁾ Who-doth] Whose influence did ³⁾ which-labours] my desires first ⁴⁾ way-all] trauels in ⁵⁾ doth alone] had the powre t' ⁶⁾ and-am ;] from whence these motions came

* Bei den in den verschiedenen Fassungen übereinstimmenden Abweichungen bildet 1 (in der Orthographie) die Grundlage.

Who if she heere doe so appeare in Act,
 That for his Queene and Loue he scarce will know her, ¹⁾
 Finding how much shee of her selfe hath lackt,
 And miss'd that glory wherein I should shew her, ²⁾
 In maiestie delas'd, in courage lower ; ³⁾
 Yet lightning thou by thy sweet fauoring eyes ⁴⁾
 My darke defects, which from her spirit ⁵⁾ detract,
 Hee yet may gesse it's she ; which will suffice. ⁶⁾

And I hereafter in another kinde,
 More fitting ⁷⁾ to the nature of my vaine,
 May (per aduventure) raise my humble minde
 And higher notes in sweeter musique ⁸⁾ straine :
 Seeing that thou so graciously ⁹⁾ doost daine,
 To countenance my song and cherish mee
 I must so worke posteritie may finde,
 How much I did contend to honour ¹⁰⁾ thee.

Now when so many pennes (like Speares) are charg'd,
 To chace away this tyrant of the North ;
 Gross *Barbarism*, whose powre growne far inlarg'd
 Was lately by thy valiant Brothers worth,
 First found, encountred, and prouoked forth :
 Whose onset made the rest audacious,
 Whereby they likewise haue so well discharg'd,
 Vpon that hideous Beast incroching thus.

And now must I with that poore strength I haue,
 Resist so foule a foe in what I may :
 And arme against obliuion and the graue
 That els in darknes carries all away,

¹⁾ for-her,] he can scarce discern her for his Queene, ²⁾ glory-her]
 grace wherein she should be scene, ³⁾ In-lower ;] Her worth obscur'd,
 her spirit embased cleene, ⁴⁾ fauoring eyes] chearefulness, ⁵⁾ spirit] powres
⁶⁾ yet suffice.] may her gesse some resemblances. ⁷⁾ fitting] suting ⁸⁾ And-
 musique] To other musique in this higher ⁹⁾ Seeing-graciously] Since I
 perceiue the world and thou ¹⁰⁾ How-honour] My loue to verse, my
 gratitude to

And makes of all our honors but a ¹⁾ pray.
 So that if by my penne procure I shall
 But to defend mee and my name to saue,
 Then though I die, I cannot yet die all ;

But still the better part of me will liue,
 Deckt and adorned with thy sacred ²⁾ name
 Although thy selfe dost farre more glory giue
 Vnto thy selfe, then I can by the same.
 Who doost with thine own hand a Bulwarke frame
 Against these Monsters (enemies of honour)
 Which euermore shall so defend thy Fame
 That Time nor ³⁾ they, shall neuer prey vpon her.

46 holy-of] Hymnes which thou doost consecrate to 1, 2^{a-c}
 48 eternall fame] eternitie 1, 2^{a-c} 49 shewes] makes 1, 2^{a-c} 50 shall-
 reuerent] must rest thy venerable 1, 2^{a-c} 54 them-shall] this (Great
 Lady) thou must 1, 2^{a-c} 55 may-leuell] lyes low leuell'd 1, 2^{a-c}
 56 you-your] thou maist call thine 1, 2^{a-c} 58 you-art] thou suruiu'st
 thy selfe, heere thou art 1, 2^{a-c} 61 your] thy 1, 2^{a-c} 64 musique-tund]
 melody of our sweete 1, 2^{a-c} 65 hēce- &] now be heard to *Tyber*,
Arne and 1, 2^{a-c} 67 Declined-contemne.] The Musike of declined
Italie : 1, 2^{a-c} 68 Our-now] And listning to our Songs 1, 2^{a-c} 69 Re-
 ceiue-them] Might learne of thee, their notes to purifie. 1, 2^{a-c} 70 Or]
 O 1, 2^{a-c} 72 imprisoned] imprisoning 1, 2^{a-c} 73 let out] publish 1, 2^{a-c}.

Der Schluss der Dedikation lautet statt And-best 75-101 in 1, 2^{a-c}
 [mit Ausnahme der in den Fussnoten für 2^{b,c} angegebenen Än-
 derungen] wie folgt :

And teach to ⁴⁾ *Rhenc*, to *Loyre*, and *Rhodanus*,
 Our accents, and the wonders of our Land,
 That they might all admire and honour vs.

¹⁾ our -a] an vniuersall ²⁾ Deckt-sacred] And in that part will liue thy
 reuerent ³⁾ That-nor] As Time, or ⁴⁾ teach to] to teach.

Whereby great *Sydney* and our *Spencer* might,
 With those *Po*-singers being equalled,
 Enchaunt the world with such a sweet delight,
 That theyr eternall songs (for euer read,)
 May shew what great *Elizas* raigne hath bred.
 What musicke in the kingdome of her peace,
 Hath now beene made to her, and by her might,
 Whereby her glorious fame shall neuer cease.

But if that fortune doth deny vs this,
 Then *Neptune*, locke vp with the Ocean key,
 This treasure to our selues, and let them misse
 Of so sweet riches : as vnworthy they
 To taste the great delights that we inioy.
 And let our harmony so pleasing growne,
 Content our selues, whose errour euer is
 Strange notes to like, and disesteeme our owne.

But, whither doe my vowes transport me now,
 Without the compasse of my course inioynd?
 Alas, what honour can a voyce so low
 As this of mine, expect heereby to find?
 But, (Madam,) this doth animate my mind,
 That fauored by the Worthy of our Land
 My lynes are lik'd, the which may make me grow,
 In time to take a greater taske in hand ¹⁾

The Argument.] lautet übereinstimmend in 1, 2, 3. In 1, 2 folgt :
 The Scène supposed Alexandria.
 47 The-Actors.] THE ACTORS. 1, 2.

¹⁾ That-hand] That yet I shall be read among the rest,
 And though I doe not to perfection grow,
 Yet something shall I be, though not the best.

48-54 Cleopatra.-Philostratus.] Cleopatra. Octavius Cæsar.

Proculeius. Dolabella.

Titius, Seruaunt to Dolabella.

Arius, {
Philastratus. { two Philosophers.

Philastratus, } two Philosophers.

Seleucus, Secretary to Cleopatra.

Rodon, Tutor to Cæsario.

Nuntius.

The Chorus, all Egyptians. 1, 2.

vv. 1, 2] fehlt 1.

Anfang von 1, 2 : 374 f. 5-20 Come-right.] 37-62 O-feares.] 77-124.
Cle-sonne,] in 1, 2 nach 1186.

5 Come-here,] Heere Rodon, take I, 2. 6 I-left,] that I haue, I, 2.
7 The] This I, 2. 8 My-theft,] fehlt I, 2. 10 Conceale] Safeguard
him I, 2. 16 shattered] broken I, 2. 21-36 *Rod.-hand*!] fehlt I, 2.
38 Now doe] O how I, 2. 42 had-late,] O, (if hee had not beene borne
so late,) I, 2. 43 wide] great I, 2. 44 And haue] And nowe haue I, 2.
45 But-delaies,] Then vnto him, O my deere Sonne (shee sayes,) I, 2.
54 in-way,] and thy wayes, I, 2. 58 dangerous] daungers I, 2. 60 But
mothers] Mothers will I, 2. 63-76 *Rod.-again*e.] fehlt I, 2. 77 *Cle.* But
ah,] And O, I, 2. 78 ominous] luckles bad I, 2. 79 And-dote] But
yet it may be tis but Loue doth dote, I, 2. 80 On] Or I, 2. 83 in-his]
recouer better I, 2. 84 with-glory] may come in pompe to I, 2.
85 feare] doubt I, 2. 86 more powerfull] malignant I, 2. 88 And
Egypt] Egypt must I, 2. 90 If it be] Sith it is I, 2. 94 you] thee I, 2.
108 to] so I, 2. 113 I-gladly] els that I would I, 2. 114 you] thee I, 2.
115 might] may I, 2. 116 perhaps it is] it may be tis I, 2. 121 me-
thee :] thee and mee. I, 2. 125-310 *Though-griefe.*] fehlt I, 2 ;
dafür folgt :

Here more she wold, when more she could not say
Sorrow rebounding backe whence it begun,
Fild vp the passage, and quite stopt the way :
When sweete *Casario* with a princely sp^rite,
(Though comfortlesse himselfe) did comfort giue ;
With mildest words, perswading her to beare it.
And as for him, shee should not neede to grieue.
And I (with protestations of my part,)

Swore by that faith, (vvhich sworne I did deceaue)
 That I vvould vse all care, all vvit and arte
 To see hym safe ; And so vve took our leaue.
 In 1, 2 folgt 1187 f.

372 ACTVS-I.] ACTVS PRIMVS. 1, 2. 373 *Cleopatra.-Eras.*
Cleopatra 1, 2.

374 f.] Anfang von 1, 2.

374 can] doth 1, 2. 374-397 Yet-bewitch,] lautet in 1 wie folgt :

YET doe I liue, and yet doth breath possesse
 This hatefull prison of a loathsome soule :
 Can no calamitie, nor no distresse
 Break heart and all and end a life so foule ?
 Can *Cleopatra* liue, and with these eyes
 Behold the deereſt of her life bereft her ?
 Ah can ſhee entertaine the leaſt ſurmiſe
 Of any hope, that hath but horror left her ?
 Why ſhould I linger longer griefes to try ?
 Theſe eyes that ſawe what honor earth could giue mee,
 Doe now behold the worſt of miſery :
 The greateſt wrack wherto Fortune could drive mee.
 Hee on whoſe ſhoulders all my reſt relyde,
 On whom the burthen of my ambition lay :
 My *Atlas* and the Champion of my pride,
 That did the world of my whole fortune ſway ;
 Lyes falne, confounded, dead in ſhame and dolours,
 Following th'vn lucky party of my loue.
 Th'Enſigne of mine eyes, th' vn happy collours,
 That him to miſchiefe, me to ruine droue.
 And now the modell made of miſery,
 Scorne to the world, borne but for Fortunes ſoile,
 My luſts haue fram'd a Tombe for mee to lie,
 Euen in the aſhes of my Countries ſpoyle.
 Ah, who would think that I were ſhee vvho late,
 Clad with the glory of the worlds chiefe ritches,
 Admir'd of all the earth, and wondred at,
 Glittring in pompe that hart and eye bewitches :

382 eies] fehlt 2^{bc} 388 the Champion] supporter 2.

Nach 393 folgt in 2 :

Whereby my dissolution is become
The graue of Egypt, and the wracke of all ;
My vnforeseeing weakenesse must intoome
My Countries fame and glory with my fall.

398 the] that 1, 2. 404-415 Ist-I.] lautet in 1 wie folgt :

Ist I that left my sence so without guide,
That flattery would not let him know twas I ?
Ah, now I see, they scarce tell truth, that praise vs,
Crownes are beguile, prosperity betraies vs.
What is become of all that statelie traine
Those troopes that wont attend prosperitie ?
See what is left, what number doth remaine
A tombe, two maydes, and miserable I.

417 honor others] beautifie their 1. 418 hold] haue 1, 2. 420 But-
doe,] No Caesar no, it is not thou canst doe it. 1. 421 extremitie,]
extremitie, 1, 2. 422 thereto,] vnto it, 1.

Nach 423 folgt in 1, 2 [mit Ausnahme der in den Fussnoten für
2 angegebenen Änderungen] :

Though thou, of Country, Kingdom ¹⁾ and my Crowne,
Though thou of all my glory dost ²⁾ bereaue me
Though thou hast all my Egypt as ³⁾ thine owne,
Yet hast thou left me that which will deceiue thee.
That courage vvith my bloed and birth innated,
Admir'd of all the earth, as thou art now :
Cannot by threatens be vulgarly ⁴⁾ abated,
To be the slaue, that rul'd as good as thou.
Consider Caesar that I am a Queene,
And scorne the basenes of a seruile thought :

¹⁾ Country, Kingdom] both my country ²⁾ Though-dost] Of powre, of
meanes and all dost quite ³⁾ all-as] holy Egypt made ⁴⁾ Cannot-vulgarly]
Can neuer be so abiectly

The world and thou, dost know what I haue beene,
And neuer thinke I can be so low brought, ¹⁾

433 Shall-behold] That Rome should see 1, 2. 433 hand] hands 1, 2.
436 Shall-by] That I should passe 1, 2. 438 which] that 1.
442-444 Nor-grace] lautet in 1 :

Nor had I troubled now the world thus long,
And beene indebted for this little breath,
But that I feare, Caesar would offer wrong

443 my] this 2. 445 For] To 1. 446 Its] Tis 1. 447 Thats it] Tis that 1.
Nach 449 folgt in 1, 2 [mit Ausnahme der in den Fussnoten für
2 angegebenen Änderungen] :

O ²⁾ lucklesse issue of a ³⁾ vvofull Mother,
The vngodly ⁴⁾ pledges of a vvanton bed ;
You Kings design'd, must now be slaues ⁵⁾ to other ;
Or els not bee (I feare) ⁶⁾ when I am dead.
It is for you I temporise with *Caesar*,
And liue this vvhile for to procure ⁷⁾ your safety.
For you I fayne content, and soothe his pleasure,
Calamitie herein hath made me crafty.
But tis not long, Ile see ⁸⁾ what may be done,
And ⁹⁾ come what vvill, this stands, I must die free.
Ile be my selfe, my thoughts do rest thereon, ¹⁰⁾
Blood, chyldren, nature, all must pardon mee.
My soule yeelds honour vp the victory,
And I must bee a Queene, forget a mother :
Yet ¹¹⁾ mother vvould I be, were I not I,
And Queene would I not now be, were I ¹²⁾ other.

¹⁾ Consider-brought.] Think Caesar, I that liu'd and raign'd a Queene
Do scorne to buy my life at such a rate,
That I should vnderneath my selfe be seene,
Basely induring to suruiue my state.

²⁾ O] You ³⁾ a] an ⁴⁾ vngodly] vvretched ⁵⁾ now-slaues] subiects liue
⁶⁾ not-feare] I feare, scarce liue, ⁷⁾ liue-procure] stay this vvhile to
mediate ⁸⁾ tis-see] this is but to try ⁹⁾ And] For ¹⁰⁾ Ile-thereon,] And die
my selfe vncaptiu'd, and vnwonne. ¹¹⁾ Yet] Though ¹²⁾ I-I] not be now,
could I be

456 And-date] Licentiousnes in mee should end her date, 1 ;
 Luxuriousnesse in me should raise the rate 2. 457 Of loose and]
 Begunne in 1. 458-461 If-Infamie ?] lautet in 1 :

If so it be, and that my heedles waies,
 Haue this so great a dissolation rais'd,
 Yet let a glorious end conclude my dayes,
 Though life were bad, my death may yet be prais'd.

460 not-my] striue but to make 2. 462 And-ingrau'd] That I may
 write 1 ; And let me vwrite 2. 464 for] to 1, 2. 465 As] That 1.
 466-504 *Char.*-heart ?] fehlt in 1, 2.
 505-529 No-sacrifice] lautet in 1 :

And *Antony*, because the world doth know,
 That my mis-fortune hath procured thine,
 And my improuidence brought thee so low,
 To lose thy glory, and to ruine mine :
 By grapling in the Ocean of our pride,
 To sinke each others greatnes both together,
 Both equall shipwrack of our states t'abide,
 And like destruction to procure to eyther :
 If I should now (our common fault) suruiue,
 Then all the world must hate mee, if I doe it,
 Sith both our errors did occasion giue
 And both our faults haue brought vs both vnto it.
 I beeing first inamour'd with thy greatnes,
 Thou with my vanity bewitched wholly :
 And both betrayd with th' outward pleasant sweetnes,
 The one ambition spoyld, th' other folly.
 For which thou hast already duly paid,
 The statute of thy errors dearest forfeit :
 Whereby thy gotten credite was decayd,
 Procur'd thee by thy wanton deadly forfeit.
 And next is my turne, now to sacrifize

505 No] And 2. 505 because] although 2^d. 506 t'-hath] my defects
 haue onely 2. Statt 509-512 My-stood,] folgt in 2 nach 516 :

I haue no meanes to vndeceiue their mindes,
 But to bring in the witsse of my blood,
 To testifie the faith and loue that bindes
 My equall shame, to fall vvith whom I stood.

513 Though] Yet 2^d. 513 this-wrongly] how iust this staine is 2^{a-c}.
 515 And my] Yet since 2^{a-c}. Nach 528 folgt in 2 :

And since vve tooke of either such firme hold
 In th' ouerwhelming seas of fortune cast,
 What powre should be of powre to revnfold
 The armes of our affections lockt so fast,
 For grapling in the Ocean of our pride,
 We suncke each others greatnesse both together ;
 And both made shipwracke of our fame beside,
 Both vvrought a like destruction vnto either :

529 I-me] therefore I am 2. Nach 532 folgt in 1, 2 :

Which *Anthony*, (I must confesse my fault)
 I neuer did sincerely vntill now ;
 Now I protest I doe, now am I taught,
 In death to loue, in life that knew not how.
 For vvilst my glory in her greatnes stood,
 And that I saw my state, and knew my beauty,
 Saw how the vvorld admir'd mee, how they woode,
 I then thought all men, must loue me of dutie,

533 when-vaine] And I loue none : for my 1, 2. 534 euery] euer 1, 2.

536 stay] thinke 1. 539 When-in] Thou comming from 1, 2.

540 The-learnedst] lautet :

The wanton pompe of Courts yet neuer learnedst : 1 ;
 And neuer this loose pompe of monarchs learnest 2^{a-c} ;
 And this loose pompe of monarchs neuer learnest 2^d.

541 womens] womans 1. 543 women loue] women like 1 ; how we
 like 2.

545 by] my 1, 2, 3^a. 557-561 Which-*Cæsar*,] lautet in 1 :

Which I will pay thee with most faithfull zeale,
And that ere long, no *Cæsar* shall detaine me ;
My death, my loue and courage shall reueale,
The which is all the world hath left t' vnstaine me.

And to the end I may deceiue best, *Cæsar*,

559 As] That 2. 565 Thereby-to] Whereby I may be better mee 1.

566 For] Of 1. 567 An yeelding] A seëming 1.

Nach 570 folgt in 1, 2 CHORVS. 311-371. 571 SCENA II.] ACTVS
SECVNDVS. 1, 2. 572 *Octavius.-Gallus*.] *Cæsar. Proculeius*. 1, 2.
578 thy] the 1, 2. 588 states-all] treasure and 1, 2.

593-604 But-And] lautet in 1, 2 :

But *Proculei*, what hope doth shee now giue,
Will shee be brought to condescend to liue ?
Proc. My Lord, what time being sent from you to try,
To win her forth aliue, (if that I might)
From out the Monument, where wofully
Shee liues inclos'd in most afflicted plight :
No way I found, no meanes how to surprize her,
But through a Grate at th' entry of the place,
Standing to treat, I labour'd to aduise her,

Statt 599-602 First-clime :] folgt in 1, 2 nach 608 :

So leauing her for then ; and since of late,
With *Gallus* sent to try another time ;
The whilst hee entertaines her at the grate,
I found the meanes vp to the Tombe to clime.

609 I now] where in 1, 2. 612 Ah] Poore 1, 2. 612 forc'd] tane 1, 2.
617 should you] shouldst thou 1, 2. 618 your] thy 1, 2. 622 your]
thy 1, 2. 629 lampe] Lampe 1, 2. 633 borne] brought 1, 2, 3^a. 635
fate,] Fate, 1, 2. 639 rule,] commaund 1, 2. 642 lying,] liuing ?
1. 646 death,] Death, 1, 2. 648 pride,] Pride, 2^{b-d}. 650 that] what 1, 2.
651 thus-to] must in this sort 1, 2. 652 On-wretched] Th' afflicted
body of an wofull 1, 2. 653 Gods] gods 2^{b-d}. 654 could-content,] if
hee could content him : 1, 2^a. 656 heare in] to this 1, 2. 656 lament,]

lamenting. 1, 2^a. 663 wofull] poore 1, 2. 664 A mixed] Confused 1, 2. 671 or] nor 1, 2. 674 in th' horror] in horror 1, 2. 676 your] thy 1, 2. 677 And wisht] Wishing 1, 2. 681/2 Wherewithliue] And so with much a-doe, (well pacifi'de

Seeming to bee,) she shew'd content to lyue, 1, 2.

683 And said] Saying 1, 2. 683 your] thy 1, 2. 684 you would] thou would'st 1, 2. 685 therewithall] heere-withall, 1, 2. 685 onely] also 1, 2. 686 some coarse] her last rites to her lost belou'd. 1, 2. 687/8 Of-foree.]

To sacrificize to him that wrought her plight :

And that shee might not bee by force remou'd. 1, 2.

690 as-rest.] seeming in better rest. 1, 2. 691 f. bis zum Schluss des Aktes für Oct.] *Cæs.* 1, 2. 691 doe you] doost thou 1, 2. 693 thoghts-hearts] men sound not the harts of Princes, 1, 2. 694 Whose-parts.] Whose actions oft beare contrarie pretences. 1, 2^{a-c}; Whose purposes beare contrarie pretences. 2^d. 695 to come] for to 2^a. 697 by-work] thereby procure 1, 2. 698 respect-then] are not ally'd vnto their 2^d. 707 feare-not] think sh' will neuer 1, 2. 709 troupe] watch 1, 2^a. 711 well-doth] looke that none with her come to 1, 2. 712 And-visit] Shortly my selfe will goe to visite 1, 2.

Nach 712 folgt in 1, 2 CHORVS. 1056-1126. CHORVS. 713-773 in 1, 2 nach ACTVS III. 714 *Sterne, and imperious*] *O Fearefull frowning* 1, 2. 716. arbitresse,] Arbitresse, 1. 757, 760 gods] 1, 2^a.

774 ACTVS III. SCENA.] ACTVS TERTIVS. 1, 2.

775 *Philostratus*.-Philosophers.] *Philostratus. Arius.* 1, 2.

779 help] helps 1, 2. 785 And-liue] Liuing (as 'twere) 1, 2^{a-c}; We liue but as 2^d. 787 land] Land 1, 2. 791 nature] Nature 2. 792 learning] Learning 2^{b-d}. 794 eloquence] Eloquence 1. 802 ship-terror] lyfe, pale feare and terror 1, 2. 810 my-did] graunt, my selfe much to 1, 2. 812 same desire] selfe same care 1, 2. 814 No-doth] Nature dooth vs no more then others 1, 2. 820 age-testifie,] any age hath better taught, 1, 2. 822 soon-prosperitie,] improuident prosperity is caught, 1, 2. 823 Comes-ruin'd] And cleane confounded 1, 2. 827 glory] pride, & 1, 2. 833 prince and] such a 1. 836 peace,] Peace 2^{b-d}. 841 would] must 1, 2.

842/3 S'ugnlph-withhold ?]

At length of force pay backe the bloody price

Of sad destruction, (a reward for lust.) 1, 2.

842 S'ugnlph] S'ingulph 3^a. 845 Of-are] Of lyke proude states,

as 1, 2; Of mighty lands, as 3^a. 851 booke] Booke 2^{b d}. 851 fate] Fate 1, 2. 852 th'] fehlt 1, 2, 855 Doe wracke] Ruine 1, 2. 861 our-felicity,] felicity and greatnes. 1, 2. 862 doth] do 1, 2. 863 confus'd-miserie.] in sorrow for our sweetnes; 1, 2. 867 Thus] This 1, 2. 876 lie] stand 1, 2. 877 renowne,] his honor, 1, 2. 878/9 T'owne.] To cut off all succession of our land.

For her offence that puld the warrs vpon her. 1, 2.

880-882 *Phi.*-sprung] lautet in 1, 2^{a-c} :

Phi. Why must her issue pay the price of that ?

Ari. The price is life that they are rated at.

Phi. *Cæsario* to, issued

880-882 *Phi.*-sprung] lautet in 2^d :

Phi. Must all her yssue be confounded now ?

Ari. Yea all that from the roots of King did grow,

Phi. And sweet *Cæsario* sprong

887 *Ar.*-seeke] *Ari.* Tis best 1, 2. 890-893 They-made] lautet in 1, 2 :

And sure his death may best procure our peace,

Competitors the subiect deerely buies :

And so that our affliction may surcease,

Let great men be

896 some emptie] some falsed 1, 2^{a-c}; with some deluding 2^d. 897 may] might 1, 2. 897 fortunes] fortune 1, 2. 898 Though] But yet 1, 2. 898 shall neuer] will not 1, 2. 899 queld] quel 1. 899 Champions] champions 1, 2. 900 Exeunt.] fehlt 1, 2. 905 thinke-your] doost thou thinke, thy' 1, 2. 906 As] That 1, 2. 909 my-soule] my' oppressed thoughts 1, 2. 911 in those] to these 1, 2. 913 I-euer] *Cæsar*, I thought no 1, 2. 914 distressed] oppressed, 1, 2. 916 A] Poore 1, 2. 918 that] the 1, 2. 919 madame, -was] Queene, none but thy selfe is 1, 2. 920 your] thyne 1, 2^a, 2^d; mine 2^{b, c}. 921 your] thy 1, 2. 923 your-of] breaking off the league of loue and 1, 2; you dissolu'd that league of loue and 3^a. 924 which makes] Thou mak'st 1, 2. 925 who-out] Sith th'eye of grieve must looke 1, 2. 926 But through] Thorow 1, 2. 927 you.] thee 1, 2. 928 what, *Cæsar*] *Cæsar*, vwhat 1, 2. 932 euery enterprize] such disseignes as these. 1, 2. 933 orient] Orient 1, 2. 934 then-

denies?] was not glad to please? 1, 2. 939 no, alas,] alas no, 1, 2. 940 you-have] thou and thine hast 1, 2. 941 you] thee 1, 2. 944 your] thy 1, 2. 944 your] thy 1, 2. 947 How-to] O *Cæsar*, see how easie tis t' 1, 2. 948 fortune] Fortune 1, 2. 949 They-vanquished The wretched conquered 1, 2. 950 th' are] he's 1, 2. 952 ouerthrowne-be] vanquisht, still is iudg'd 1, 2. 954 crowne] Crowne 1, 2. 955 Ah-art] alas vvhat needed arte 1, 2. 955 art] Art 2^{b-d}. 957 weaker-see] heere let vweaker powers note 1, 2. 958 competitors so] Competitors too 1, 2. 959 either-we] part, vve oft doe 1, 2. 960 stand,] bide 1, 2. 962 they -must] following none, yet must they 1, 2. 963 or] and 1, 2. 964 Weigh-on] Be not a heaueie vveight vpon 1, 2. 966 Thy] The 1, 2. 966 thy] the Victors 1, 2. 969 queene] Queene 1, 2. 973 it] this 1, 2. 977 you] thee 1, 2. 978 my] the 1, 2. 978 ieweils] Yewels 1. 979 Which] That 1, 2. 982 thing] things 1, 2, 3^a. 983 and gratefull] vnggrateful 1, 2, 3^a. 984 queene,] Queene 1, 2. 994 *Octauias*] *Octauias* 1, 2. 997 you shall] thou shalt 1, 2. 998 you-can] thou desir'st, or can'st 1, 2. 1001 comfort-drooping] giue thou comfort to thy 1, 2. 1002 your heart] thy soule 1, 2. 1003 ye-shall] thee thou shalt 1, 2. 1005 when] then 1, 2. 1010 of [of] of 1, 2. 1015 griefe] death 1, 2. 1025 Daughter-thou] Beauty daughter of Meruaile, O see how 1, 2^{a-c}; Daughter of Meruaile beauty O see how 2^d 1026 Vnto-such] Thou canst disgracing sorrowes sweetly 1, 2. 1027 showest thou] thou shew'st 1, 2. 1028 To-to] That mak'st affliction faire, giu'st teares their 1, 2. 1029 dispoyled] can torn rent 1, 2. 1031 may] can 1, 2. 1033 [a] a 1, 2. 1034 charme-heate, be thy warning; 1, 2. 1035 You-vaine] VVhat mischiefes these so idle 1, 2. 1036 When-defeate.] VVhilst error keepes vs from a true discerning. 1, 2. 1039 that] the 1, 2. 1045 tis-sage,] twere best she left such badnes, 1, 2^{a-c}; leaue her vnto her sadnesse 2^d. 1046 madnes in age.] in age, tis madnes. 1, 2. 1049 trophy] Trophey 1, 2. 1049 toyle shall] trauailes 1, 2. 1051 since-seeme] sith that shce seemes 1, 2. 1054 after] thither 1, 2. 1055 Exeunt.] fehlt 1, 2.

Nach 1055 folgt in 1, 2 CHORVS 713-773.

CHORVS 1056-1126 in 1, 2 nach ACTVS SECVNDVS.

1118 were] was 1, 2. 1119 louer] Louer 1, 2.

1127 ACTVS III[I] ACTVS QVARTVS. 1, 2.

1129 F*R*riend-neuer] N*E*uer friend *Rodon* 1, 2. 1130 a-then] thee then eu'en 1, 2. 1139 care] cares 1, 2. 1146 I-thou] Ile vvaile thy

state, and thou shalt 1, 2. 1149 worthy] chiefest 1, 2. 1151 late shifting] confusion 1, 2. 1155 I-disgrac'd] Am come to be cast downe 1, 2.

Nach 1155 folgt in 1, 2 : And in the course of mine owne plot vndonne. 1158 hath-due] is quited vvith 1, 2. 1159 falshood's] falshood 1, 2. 1160 For-yet] Though good for him, yet Princes 1, 2. 1161 They] Doe 1, 2. 1161 traytor,] Traytor, 1, 2. 1161 [the] the 1, 2, 3a. 1163 Entire] Faithfull 1, 2. 1164 worthy] bountious 1, 2. 1165 As-growne.] That had me rais'd and made mine honor known. 1, 2. 1167 and-estate] or mine owne state 1, 2. 1175 pittie and] grieue and doe 1, 2. 1181 Mine] I 1, 2. 1182 For-me] For vnto mee did *Cleopatra* gyue 1, 2. 1184 Her-tree] Louely *Casario*, whom shee would should liue 1, 2^{a-c}; Louely *Casario*, whom she would haue liue 2^d. 1185 Him-danger] Free from the dangers 1, 2. 1186 And guide], And vnto mee with him this charge she gaue, 1, 2.

Nach 1186 folgt in 1, 2 : 5-20 Come-right.] 37-62 O-feares.] 77-124 *Cle-sonne*,] sowie die oben bei 125 angeführten 11 Verse : Here-leaue.]

1190 For-shore,] Scarce had wee trauail'd to our iourneyes end 1, 2. 1191 But] When 1, 2. 1192 Had-before,] His Agents after vs vvith speed doth send 1, 2. 1196 againe] to *Rhodes* 1, 2. 1199 And-die.] fehlt 1, 2.

Nach 1199 folgen in 1, 2 : die unten bei 1395 angegebenen 3 Verse : And-sayd.] sodann : 1395-1398 Loe-father.] hierauf folgen die unten bei 1398 angegebenen 4 Verse : From-back.] ferner 1399-1455 I-vs.] sowie die unten bei 1455 angeführten 8 Verse Yet-long.] dann 1456/7 But-innocent.] und der unten bei 1457 angegebene Vers : Thus-shame.] Hierauf folgt in 1, 2 :

1200-1235 *Sel.-more*.]

1200 since] now 1, 2. 1202 Theodorus had] fell to Theodor 1, 2. 1203 And-shame.] fehlt 1, 2. 1204 Theodorus-had] he (one of my coate] hauing 1, 2. 1210 Though-those] Although they need such 1, 2. 1211 their] our 1, 2. 1212 they] vve 1, 2. 1213 their] our 1, 2. 1214 They may] Wee must 1, 2. 1214 they] we 1, 2. 1215 is not the Princes] must not appeare theyr 1, 2.

1218 SCENA II.] fehlt 1, 2.

1219 *Cleopatra.-Diomedes*.] *Cleopatra*. 1, 2.

1219 *Cleopatra-letter*. (Randnote)] fehlt 1, 2. 1225 euer doe] doe vnto 1, 2.

Nach 1235 folgt in 1, 2 : 1259-1262 But-die.]

[Über den Zusammenhang von 1236-1251 Come-that.] in 1, 2 vgl. die parallelen Angaben unten bei Var. zu v. 1630, 45 f.]

1236 Come-one,] O thou whose trust hath euer beene the same, 1, 2.

1237 In-one,] And one in all my fortunes, faithfull man, 1, 2.

1238] Whom-amazing] Thou, whom the fearefull 1, 2.

1240 State] state 1, 2. 1243 loyaltie] faith and skill 1, 2. 1243 vvorke her] doe their 1, 2.

Nach 1245 folgt in 1, 2 : Var. zu v. 1630, 57-66 For-mee.]

1246 Thou-industrie,] Goe finde mee out with all thy arte and skill 1, 2. 1247 to] unto 1, 2^a. 1251 the] thy 1, 2, 3^a. 1251 for] with 1, 2.

Nach 1251 folgt in 1, 2 : Var. zu v. 1630, 73-124 Beeing tell.] vgl. dort den weiteren Zusammenhang in 1, 2.

1252-1258 *Diom.-Exit.*] fehlt 1, 2. 1259 *Cleop.*] fehlt 1, 2.

1259-1262 But-die.] in 1, 2 nach 1235 ; darauf folgt in 1, 2 :

1264-1353 O-morrow.] 1378-1385 *And-Exeunt.*] und CHORVS 1461-1531.]

1263 *Cleopatra-Antonius.*] fehlt 1, 2. 1265 Thou] That 1, 2. 1268 loue] Loue 1, 2. 1269 Most precious] The sweetest 1, 2. 1269 worthiest] faithfull'st 1, 2. 1273 Who] That 1, 2. 1284 else-a] rather to giue 1, 2. 1288 Then-ayre ?] If it be so, why speake I then to th' ayre ? 1, 2^{a-c} ; Then do I speake but onely to the ayre : 2^d. 1290 Ghost] ghost 1, 2, 3^a. 1293 soule,] loue 1, 2. 1297 inforc'd,] vnforc'd, 1, 2. 1299 seeke] seekes 1, 2. 1301 death] Death 1. 1303 made-fortunes] kept the Monuments of Fortunes 1, 2. 1305 Since-cause.] (Sith our owne Country Gods betray our case,) 1, 2. 1308 would] should 1, 2, 3^a. 1315 these] the 1, 2. 1319 must] may 1, 2. 1326 fowle] Fowle 1, 2. 1329 my-beseemes,] doth best beseeme : 1, 2. 1331 sufficient deemmes.] enough doth deeme. 1, 2. 1334 my-gaspe] dying breath 1, 2. 1336 onely-hands,] these bare hands to doe it ? 1, 2^{a-c}. these bare silly hands ? 2^d. 1338 that-withstands,] be'ing put vnto it, 1, 2^a ; which them withstands, 2^d. 1340 a-seeke] some way endeuour 2^d. 1341 and-vs,] what so ere. I doo. 1, 2. 1342 death] Death 1, 2. 1342 thou [art] so] art thou so 3^a. 1343 thus ?] too ? 1, 2. 1344 where doest] thee where so ere thou 1, 2. 1346 come] goe 1, 2. 1347 I-complaints] Ile neuer send more words or sighes 1, 2. 1348 I] Ile 1, 2. 1352 mistresse] Mistres 1, 2. 1353 will-your] quits you from all 1.

1354-1377 *Eras.-slaues.*] fehlt 1, 2.

1378 I-attend] by this, I thinke the man I sent, 1, 2. 1379 My-
returne] Is neere return'd 1, 2. 1380 happy end,] good euent, 1, 2.

1385 *Exeunt.*] *Exit.* 1, 2.

Nach 1385 folgt in 1, 2 : CHORVS. 1461-1531.

1386-1394 SCENA-performe.] fehlt 1, 2.

1395-1398 folgt in 1, 2 den folgenden Versen nach, (welche in 1, 2
nach 1199 stehen) :

And thither come, seeing himselfe betrayd,
And in the hands of death through trecherie,
Wayling his state, thus to himselfe he sayd.

1395 *Ces.*] fehlt 1, 2. 1396 traitors] Traytors 1, 2^a. 1398 the] fehlt 1, 2.

1398 father] Father 1, 2.

Nach 1398 folgt in 1, 2 :

From *India* (vvither sent by Mothers care,
To be reseru'd from *Egypt*s common wracke,)
To Rodes, (so long the armes of Tyrants are,)
I am by *Cæsars* subtile reach brought back.

1399 I-am] Heere to be 1, 2. 1404 golden] proud ritch 1, 2.
1406 fathers] Fathers 1, 2. 1408 th'-that] the issue that theyr 1, 2.
1409 th' ruine] a sure destruction 1, 2. 1410 Then] O 1, 2. 1410 much]
farre 1. 1413 streames,] streame] 1. 1414 cottage,] Cottage, 1, 2.
1416 proud attempts] sad euent 1, 2. 1417 Imbroyle-man kind,]
Confounds vvhat euer mighty it dooth find. 1, 2. 1418 Sohight]
And not t'haue stooode in theyr way, whose 1, 2^{a-c}; Out of the way
of greatnesse, whose 2^d; 1418 he] I 3^a. 1419 Who-things] Is to haue all
made 1, 2. 1419 made] thing 1, 2. 1421 prospect] full sight 1, 2. 1423
Whose] Where 1, 2. 1424 competitors] Competitors 1, 2. 1425 who]
that 1, 2. 1425 crown] Crowne. 1, 2. 1426 *Augustus*] for *Cæsar* 1, 2,
1428 which] that 1, 2. 1430 cannot-flourish] neuer scapes vnpunisht
1, 2. 1431 doeth'] reuenge not, yet the 1, 2. 1432 he-seeke] thou
Augustus that 1, 2. 1433 T'-of] Cutt'st off succession from 1, 2. 1434
May] Maist 1, 2. 1434 his] thy 1, 2. 1435 him] thine 1, 2. 1436 he-his]
thou maist see thy 1, 2. 1437 him] thee 1, 2. 1437 his] thine 1, 2.
1438 his] thy 1, 2. 1439 his] thy 1, 2. 1445 and] or 1, 2. 1449 what]
that 1, 2. 1450 But] Yet 1, 2. 1450 he] we 1, 2. 1450 fates] Fates 1, 2.
1453 heauy] present 1, 2.

Nach 1455 folgt in 1, 2 :

Yet tis a pleasing comfort that dooth ease
Affliction in so great extremitie,
To think theyr like destruction shall appease
Our ghostes, who did procure our misery.
But dead we are, vncertaine what shall bee,
And lyuing we are sure to feele the wrong :
Our certaine ruine wee our selues doe see.
They ioy the while, and wee know not how long.

1457 God-innocent.] For men will mone, and God reuenge
th'innocent. 1, 2.

Nach 1457 folgt in 1, 2 :

Thus he complaind, and thus thou hear'st my shame.

In 1, 2 folgt hierauf 1200-1235 *Sel.-more.*] Den weiteren Zusammenhang in 1, 2 siehe oben bei den Var. zu v. 1236 f. 1458-1460 *Well-Exeunt* fehlt 1, 2. 1458 alone ;] along, 3^a.

CHORVS. 1461-1531 in 1, 2 nach 1385.

1464 *order*] *ordrer* 1, 2, 3^a. 1464 *zeale*] *Zeale* 1. 1473 *iustice*] *Iustice* 1, 2. 1478 *staid*] *same* 1, 2^{a-c}. 1486 *Who-see*] *For oft they seeing* 1, 2. 1486 *country*] *Country* 1, 2, 3^a. 1487 *for-are*] *take their ease, as though* 1, 2. 1496 *confusion*] *Confusion* 1. 1518 *thus*] *so* 1, 2.

1532 ACTVS-1.] ACTVS QVINTVS. 1, 2.

1537 letters] *Letters* 1, 2. 1541 *dearest*] *Deerest* 1, 2. 1542 *monument*] *Monument* 1, 2^a. 1543 *odours, — garlands*] *Odors, Incense, Garlands* 1, 2^a. 1548 *stares,*] *staves,* 1, 2. 1551 *The letter*] *Thy Letter* 1, 2. 1554 *saith*] (*sayd* 2. 1560 *the-would*] *vwould* all the counsell 1, 2. 1565 *can it*] *cannot* 1, 2. 1569 *worthy*] *right kind* 1, 2. 1569 *gentleman*] *Gentleman* 1, 2. 1570 *nation*] *Nation* 1, 2. 1573 *from-avvay.*] *distrestin such decay.* 1, 2^{a-c}; *distrest in her decay*; 2^d. 1577 *flovver all.*] *flowre.* 1, 2^{a-c}; *flowe thus* 2^d. 1584 *tombe*] *Tombe* 1.

Nach 1589 folgt in 1, 2 :

Although ambition lets not *Cæsar* see
Thee vvrong hee doth thy Maiestie and sweetnes,
Which makes him now exact so much of thee,

To adde vnto his pride ¹⁾, to grace his greatnes,
 Hee knowes thou canst no hurt procure vs now,
 Sith all thy strength is seaz'd into our hands :
 Nor feares hee that, but rather labours how
 Hee might shew Rome so great a Queene in bands.
 That our great Ladies (enuying thee so much
 That stain'd them all, & hell'd them in such wonder,)
 Might ioy to see thee, and thy fortune such,
 Thereby extolling him that brought thee vnder.
 But I will seeke to stay it what I may ;
 I am but one, yet one that *Cæsar* loues,
 And O if now I could doe more then pray,
 Then should'st thou know how farre affection moues.

1590 And] But 1, 2. 1590 povvers] powre 1, 2, 3^a. 1590 praiers]
 prayer 1, 2. 1595 messengers] messenger 1, 2, 3^a. 1596 some] a 1, 2.
 1597 Knowing-meanes] knowe not what imports 1, 2. 1600 with]
 in 1, 2. 1604 tombe ;] Tombe ; 1, 2. 1605 countriman.] Countryman.
 1, 2^a. 1606 When] Why 1, 2. 1610 now-that] O, if now 1, 2. 1611 rare]
 fresh 1, 2. 1615 loue] Loue 1, 2. 1617 To-condition.] To condescend
 vnto her small petition. 2^d. 1619 what-hath] her hauing 2^d. 1620 power-
 full] rarest 1, 2^{a-c} ; so rare 2^d. 1621 queene] Queene 1, 2. 1627 my
 heart,] mine arte. 1, 2.

1630 SCENA II.] lautet in 1, 2 : (mit Ausnahme der unter dem
 Strich angegebenen anderungen.)

1 SCENA SECVNDA.

Nuntius.

AM I ordaind the carefull Messenger
 And sad newes-bringer of the strangest death,
 5 Which selfe hand did vpon it selfe infer
 To free a captiue soule from seruile breath?
 Must I the lamentable vvonder shew
 Which all the world must grieue and meruaile at?
 The rarest forme of death in ²⁾ earth below,

¹⁾ his pride] himselfe 2^d. ²⁾ in] on 2^d.

10 That euer pittie, glory, vvonder gat.

Cho. What newes bringst thou, can *Egypt* yet yeeld more
Of sorrow then it hath? vvhath can it add
To the already ouer-flowing store
Of sad affliction, matter yet more sad?

15 Haue vve not seene the ¹⁾ vvorst of our calamitie?
Is there behind yet something of distresse
Vnseene, vnknowne? Tell if that ²⁾ greater misery
There by, that vve vvaile not that vvwhich is lesse ³⁾.
Tell vs vvhat so it be, and tell at fyrst,

20 For sorrow euer longs to heare her vvorst.

Nun. Well then, the strangest thing relate I will,
That euer eye of mortall man hath seene.

I (as you know) euen from my youth, haue stil
Attended on the person of the Queene :

25 And euer in all fortunes good or ill,
With her as one of chiefest trust haue beene.
And now in these so ⁴⁾ great extreamities,
That euer could to Maiestie befall,
I did my best in vvhat I could deuise,

30 And left her not, till now shee left vs all.

Cho. What is shee gone. Hath *Cæsar* forst her so?

Nun. Yea, shee is gone, and hath deceiu'd him to,

Cho. What fled to *India*, to goe find her sonne?

Nun. No, not to *India*, but to find her Sunne.

35 *Chor.* Why then there's hope she may her state recouer.

Nun. Her state? nay rather honor, and her Louer.

Chor. Her Louer? Him shee cannot haue againe.

Nun. Well, him shee hath, with him she doth remaine.

Chor. Why then she's dead. Ist so? why speakst not thou?

40 *Nun.* You gesse aright, and I will tell you how.

When she perceiu'd all hope was cleane bereft her ⁵⁾,
That *Cæsar* meant to send her straight away,

¹⁾ the] our ^{2d}. ²⁾ Tell-that] if there be ^{2d}. ³⁾ There-lesse.] Relate it, that we do not waile the lesse ^{2d}. ⁴⁾ so] two 2. ⁵⁾ bereft her,] bereft, ^{2b-d}.

And saw no meanes of reconcilment left her ¹⁾,
 Work what she could, she could not work to stay.
 Shee calls mee to her, and she thus began.

Es folgt in 1, 2 : 1236/1237 Come-one,]

Alone content t'attend disgrace and shame.

Es folgt in 1, 2 : 1238/1245 Whom-rest.]

For all what thou hast done, may die with thee,
 Although tis pittie that such faith should die.
 But this shall euer-more remembred be,

60 A rare example to posterity.

And looke how long as *Cleopatra* shall

In after ages liue in memory,

So long shall thy cleere fame endure withall,

And therefore thou must not my sute deny ;

65 Nor contradict my will. For what I will

I am resolu'd : and this tis thou must doe mee ²⁾ :

Es folgt in 1, 2 : 1246/1251 Thou-that.]

Beeing thus coniu'r'd by her t'whom I had vow'd

My true perpetuall seruice, forth I went,

75 Deuising how my close attempt to shrowde,

So that there might no arte my arte preuent.

And so disguis'd in habite as you see,

Hauing found out the thing for which I went,

I soone return'd againe, and brought with mee

80 The Aspicqs in a basket closely pent.

Which I had fill'd with figges and leaues vpon.

And comming to the Guardie that kept the dore,

What hast thou there ? said they, and lookt thereon.

Seeing the figgs, they deem'd of nothing more,

85 But sayd, they were the fairest they had seene.

Taste some, sayd I, for they are good and pleasant.

¹⁾ left her,] left, ²⁾ tis-mee :] now must it be ²b-d.

- No, no, sayd they, goe beare them to thy Queene.
 Thinking mee some poore man that brought a Present.
 Well, in I went, where brighter then the Sunne,
 95 Glittering in all her pompous ritch aray,
 Great *Cleopatra* sate, as if she' had wonne
Cæsar, and all the world beside this day.
 Euen as shee was when on thy cristall streames,
 Cleare ¹⁾ *Cydnos* shee did shew what earth could shew.
 95 When Asia all amaz'd in wonder, deemes
Venus from heauen was come on earth below.
 Euen as shee went at first to meete her Loue,
 So goes shee now at last againe to find him.
 But that first, did her greatnes onely proue,
 100 This last her loue, that could not liue behind him.
 Yet as shee sate, the doubt of my good speed,
 Detracts much from the sweetnes of her looke :
 Cheere-marrer Care, did then such passions breed,
 That made her eye bewray the grieve ²⁾ shee tooke.
 105 But shee not sooner sees mee in the place,
 But straight her sorrow-clowded brow shee cleeres,
 Lightning a smile from out a stormy face,
 Which all her tempest-beaten senses cheeres.
 Looke how a stray'd perplexed trauailer,
 110 When chas'd by thieues, and euen at poynt of taking,
 Descrying suddainly some towne not far,
 Or some vnlookt-for ayde to him-ward making;
 Cheeres vp his tired sp'rits, thrusts for his strength
 To meete that good, that comes in so good houre :
 115 Such was her ioy, perceiuing now at length,
 Her honor was t'escape so proude a powre.
 Foorth from her seate shee hasts to meet the present,
 And as one ouer-joy'd, shee caught it straight.
 And with a smyling cheere in action pleasant,
 120 Looking among the figges, findes the deceite.
 And seeing there the vgly venemous beast,

¹⁾ Cleare] O ^{2a}. ²⁾ grieve] care ^{2a}.

Nothing dismayde, she stayes and viewes it well.
 At length th'extreamest of her passion ceast,
 When she began with words her ioy to tell.
 1631-1700 *Cleopatra*-may.] fehlt 1, 2.

Es folgt in 1, 2 : 1701-1704 *Cl.*-thee.] ¹⁾

What though the euer-erring world doth deeme
 130 That angred Nature fram'd thee but in spight?
 Little they know what they so light esteeme,
 That neuer learn'd the wonder of thy might.

Es folgt in 1, 2 : 1705-1708 *Better-death.*] ²⁾

If Nature err'd, O then how happy error,
 Thinking to make thee worst, shee made thee best :
 Sith thou best freest vs from our liues worst terror,
 140 In sweetly bringing soules to quiet rest.
 When that inexorable Monster Death
 That followes Fortune, flyes the poore distressed,
 Tortures our bodies ere hee takes our breath,
 And loades with paines th'already weake oppressed.
 145 How oft haue I begg'd, prayd, intreated him
 To take my life, and yet could neuer get him ³⁾
 And when he comes, he comes so vgly grim
 That who is he (if he could chuse) would let him ? ⁴⁾

Es folgt in 1, 2 : 1709-1712 *O-avvay.*] ⁵⁾

Well did our Priests discern something diuine
 Shadow'd in thee, and therefore first they did
 155 Offrings and worshyps due to thee assigne,
 In whom they found such mysteries were hid.
 Comparing thy swift motion to the Sunne,
 That mou'st without the instruments that moue :
 And neuer waxing old, but alwaies one,

¹⁾ 1701 *Cl.*-breeds,] O rarest Beast (sayth shee) that Affrick breeds, 1, 2.
 1702 now to] vnto 1, 2. ²⁾ 1705 death,] Death, 1, 2 ; death's] Deathes 1, 2. ³⁾
 and-him] which he would neuer do, 2^{b-d}. ⁴⁾ That-him ?] Attended on with
 hideous torment\$ to. 2^{b-d}. ⁵⁾ 1709 *O-now*] Therefore come thou,] 1, 2.

- 160 Doost sure thy strange diuinitie approue.
 And therefore to, the rather vnto thee
 In zeale I make the offering of my blood,
 Calamitie confirming now in mee
 A sure beliefe, that pietie makes good.
 165 Which happy men neglect, or hold ambiguous,
 And onely the afflicted are religious.

Es folgt in 1, 2 : 1713-1716 And-rites.] ¹⁾

- With that shee bares here arme, and offer makes
 To touch her death, yet at the touch with-drawes,
 And seeming more to speake, occasion takes,
 Willing to die, and willing to to pause.
 175 Looke how a Mother ²⁾ at her sonnes departing
 For some far voyage, bent to get him fame,
 Doth entertaine him with an idle parling
 And still doth speake, and still speakes but the same;
 Now bids farewell, and now recalls him back,
 180 Tells what was told, and bids againe fare-well,
 And yet againe recalls; for still doth lack
 Something that Loue ³⁾ would faine and cannot tell.
 Pleas'd hee should goe, yet cannot let him goe.
 So shee, although shee knew there was no way
 185 But this, yet this shee could not handle so
 But shee must shew, that life desir'd delay.
 Faine would shee entertaine the time as now,
 And now would faine that Death would seaze vpon her.
 Whilst I might see presented in her brow,
 190 The doubtfull combat tryde twixt Life and Honor.
 Life bringing Legions of fresh hopes with her,
 Arm'd with the prooffe of Time, ⁴⁾ which yeelds we say
 Comfort and Help, ⁵⁾ to such as doe refer
 All vnto him, and can admit delay.
 195 But Honor scorning Life, loe forth leades he

¹⁾ 1713 now] heere 1, 2 : death.] Death, 1, 2. 1714 lurt] 1, 2 ; delights.]
 Deliggtts : 1, 2. ²⁾ Mother] mother 2. ³⁾ Loue 2a. ⁴⁾ Time,] time, 2. ⁵⁾ Help.]
 helpe, 2.

- Bright Immortalitie in shyning armour ¹⁾ :
 Thorow the rayes of whose cleere ²⁾ glory, shee
 Might see Lifes basenes, how much it might harm her ³⁾.
 Besides shee saw whole Armies ⁴⁾ of Reproches, ⁵⁾
 200 And base Disgraces, Furies fearefull sad,
 Marching with Life, and Shame that still incroches
 Vppon her face, in bloody ⁶⁾ collours clad.
 Which representments seeing, worse ⁷⁾ then death
 Shee deem'd to yeeld to Life, and therfore chose
 205 To render all to Honor, hart and breath ;
 And that with speede, least that her inward foes
 False flesh and blood, ioyning with lyfe and hope,
 Should mutinie against her resolution.
 And to the end shee would not giue them scope,
 210 Shee presently proceedes to th'execution.
 And sharply blaming of her rebell powres,
 Es folgt in 1, 2 : 1717-1728 What-lose ?] ⁸⁾
 This hauing said, strenghtned in her owne hart,
 225 And vnion of her selfe, sences in one
 Charging together, shee performes that part
 That hath so great a part of glory wonne.
 And so receiues the deadly poysning touch.
 That touch that tryde the gold of her loue pure,
 230 And hath confirm'd her honour to be such,
 As must a wonder to all worlds endure.
 Es folgt in 1, 2 : 1729-1740 *Eras.-vvorst.*] ⁹⁾
 This sayd, shee stayes, and makes a suddaine pause,

¹⁾ in-armour :] arm'd all in flames : 2^d. ²⁾ the-cleere] whose bright shining rayes of 2^d. ³⁾ Lifes-her.] how base was life that her defames. 2^d ; Lifes] lifes 2^{b-d}. ⁴⁾ Armies] armies 2. ⁵⁾ Reproches.] reproches, 2^d. ⁶⁾ bloody] blushing 2^d. ⁷⁾ worse] farre worse 2^d. ⁸⁾ 1717 What-wilt] False flesh, (sayth shee), and what dost 1, 2. 1720 And-powers?] fehlt 1, 2. 1721 Wouldst] Wilt 1, 2. ⁹⁾ 1729 *Eras.-a* Now not an 1, 2. 1730 Consents now] Consented 1, 2. 1732 doth-spirits] did her dying thoughts 1, 2. 1733 Cle.-done [Well, now this worke is done (saith she) 1, 2. 1734 life,] Life, 1, 2. ^{b-d} 1734 fates] Fates 1, 2. 1734 assign'd] assign'd mee : 1. 1735 disgrace-lend,] disgrace heere this world lends, 1, 2^{a-c} ; disgraces this world lends, 2^d. 1736 behind,] behinde mee. 1. 1737 Egypt now] now O earth, 1, 2 ; Earth 2^d. 1740 tyrant] Tyrant 1, 2.

- 245 As twere ¹⁾ to feele whether the poyson vvrought :
 Or rather else the vvorking might be cause
 That made her stay, as likewise may be ²⁾ thought.
 For in that instant I might well perceiue,
 The drowsie humor in her falling brow :
 250 And how each powre, each part opprest did leaue
 Theyr former office, and did sencelesse grow.
 Looke how a new-pluckt branch against the Sunne,
 Declynes his fading leaues in feeble sort;
 So her disioyned ioyntures as vndonne,
 255 Let fall her weake dissolued limmes support.

1741-1753 *Eras.-me.*] fehlt 1, 2.

1754-1757 *Yet-queene.*] vgl. unten Var. zu v. 1630, 275.

Es folgt in 1, 2 : 1758-1765 *O-her.*] ³⁾

- Wonder it was to see how soone shee vvent,
 265 Shee went with such a will, and did so haste it,
 That sure I thinke shee did her paine preuent,
 Fore-going paine, or staying not to taste it.
 And sencelesse, in her sinking downe shee wryes
 The Diadem vvhich on her head shee vvore,
 270 Which *Charmion* (poore weake feeble mayd) espyes,
 And hastes to right it as it vvas before.
 For *Eras* now was dead, and *Charmion* too
 Euen at the poynt, for both vvould imitate
 Theyr Mistres glory, striuing like to doo.
 275 But *Charmion* vvould in this exceede her mate,
 Es folgt in 1, 2 : 1754-1757 *Yet-queene.*] ⁴⁾

- 280 And as shee stood, setting it fitty on,
 Lo, in rush *Casars* Messengers ⁵⁾ in haste,

¹⁾ twere] if 2^d. ²⁾ as-be] and intertain'd her 2. ³⁾ 1758 O-this] Yet loe that 1, 2. 1761 As] That 1, 2. 1761 this] such 1, 2. 1763 Doth] Did 1, 2. 1763 death] Death 1, 2. 1764 And glories] As glorying 1, 2. 1764 so] both 1, 2. 1765 And-her.] And telling death how much her death did please her. 1, 2. ⁴⁾ 1754 Yet-I] For shee vvould 1, 2. 1755 Which-shall] That should 1, 2. 1755 which] that 1, 2. 1756 that] a 1, 2^{a-c}. 1756 crowne] Crowne 1, 2. 1756 her] that 1, 2^{a-c}; which 2^d. 1757 may] might 1. 1757 see,] know 1, 2. 1757 queene.] Queene. 1, 2. ⁵⁾ Messengers] messengers 2^{b-d}.

Thinking to haue preuented vvhat vv as doone,
 But yet they came too late, for all vv as past.
 For there they found stretch'd on a bed of gold,
 285 Dead *Cleopatra*, and that proudly dead,
 In all the rich attyre procure shee could,
 And dying *Charmion* trymming of her head.
 And *Eras* at her feete, dead in like case.

1766-1767 *Cæs.-grace.*] fehlt 1, 2.

Es folgt in 1, 2 : 1768-1770 Why-become.] ¹⁾

And with that word, yeelds to her faithfull breath,
 To passe th'assurance of her loue with death.

Cho. But how knew *Cæsar* of her close intent?

295 *Nun.* By Letters which before to him shee sent.
 For when shee had procur'd this meanes to die,
 Shee writes, and earnestly intreates, shee might
 Be buried in one Tombe with *Anthony*.

Whereby then *Cæsar* gess'd all went not right.

300 And forth-with sends, yet ere the message came
 Shee was dispatcht, he crost in his intent,
 Her prouidence had ordred to the same
 That shee was sure none should her plot preuent.

1778 land] *Land* 1, 2. 1779 desolation] *Desolations* 1; *Desolation* 2, 3^a.
 1780 ambition] *Ambition* 1, 2. 1812 death,] *Death* 1, 2, 3^a, 1820 Lespected]
Respected 1, 2, 3^a. 1821 Reaue] *Leaue* 1, 2, 3^a. 1842 thou] then 1. 1843 presi-
 dent] *President* 1, 2, 3^a. 1843 Heauen] *heauen* 1, 2. 1844 starres] *Starres* 1. 1846
 of] and 1, 2, 3^a. 1853 rockes] *Rocks* 1, 2, 3^a. 1854 order] *Order* 1, 2, 3^a.

Auf der letzten Seite der Ausgabe 1 :

AT LONDON

Printed by *James Roberts*, and

Edward Allde, for Simon

Waterson.

1594.

Fehlerberichtung : nach v. 106 ist in 1, 2, 3 folgender Vers ein-
 zuschalten :

What were I best resolue to yield vnto ?

¹⁾ 1768 Why-done?] *Charmion*, is this well doone? said one of them. 1, 2.
 1769 Ch.-shee] Yea, well said shee, and her 1, 2. 1770 kings] *Kings* 1, 2.

ERRATA.

Seite 74, Zeile 4 von unten, unter dem Strich, lies : yet-suffise.]
 may her gesse by some resem-
 blances.

» 76 » 4 » » lies : hand.

» 79 » 6 » » » blood

» 84 » 3 » oben, » Wherewith-liue]

And so with much a-doe, (well
 pacifi'de

Seeming to bee,) she shew'd
 content to lyue, 1, 2.

» 84 » 8 » » » some-coarse]

» 84 » 17 » unten, » Gods 1, 2^a.

» 85 » 5 » oben, » To cut off all succession from
 our land,
 For her offence that puld the
 warrs vpon her. 1, 2^{a-c}.
 ...of our land, 2^d.

» 85 » 2 » unten, » thee.

» 86 » 4 » oben, » vanquished]

» 86 » 9 » » » bide,

» 86 » 14 » unten, » charme-heate,]

» 88 » 7 » » » ere I

» 89 » 15 » » » mankind

» 89 » 14 » » » So high

» 89 » 7 » » » doe — th'

» 90 » 6 » » » distrest in

» 91 » 10 » » » Änderungen

» 96 » 3 » » unter dem Strich, lies : lust] Lust 1, 2.

» 96 » 2 » » » » Delights

» 96 » 2 » » » » Loue] loue 2^a.





PR
3658
R7A7
1640a

Richards, Nathaniel
Nathanael Richards'
Tragedy of Messallina

PLEASE DO NOT REMOVE
CARDS OR SLIPS FROM THIS POCKET

UNIVERSITY OF TORONTO LIBRARY
